THE WORKING LIFE OF SHOP ASSISTANTS.

THE WORKING LIFE OF SHOP ASSISTANTS:

A STUDY OF CONDITIONS OF LABOUR IN THE DISTRIBUTIVE TRADES.

BY

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AND

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CONTENTS.

FOREWORDS.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,
July 13th, 1910.

TO THE AUTHORS.

Please accept my hearty good wishes for the success of your venture, "The Working Life of Shop Assistants." At the present moment the co-ordination and classification of material dealing with shop life is very opportune.

The Government Shops Bill demands that all who are earnest in shop-life reform shall be fully informed upon the question. From the admirable synopsis of your book, the promise is large that this need will be met. I therefore commend to all shopworkers your labours, and again express my good wishes, also my personal indebtedness.

J. A. SEDDON.

LONG MILLGATE, MANCHESTER,
July 13th, 1910.

One of the greatest difficulties shop-life reformers have had to contend with in their efforts to improve conditions of labour has been that of securing adequate and accurate information as to existing terms of service. From the synopsis of contents, it appears to be the aim of the authors of this work to supply such information in a connected form, and their book should, therefore, prove not only useful to those actively engaged in the work of reform, but also interesting to the rank-and-file whose conditions need improvement.

A. HEWITT,
General Secretary, Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employés.

PREFACE.

DURING the last few years considerable attention has been devoted by social reformers to the investigation of the conditions of labour in shops, stores, cafés, and refreshment rooms and public-houses; and from time to time leaflets, pamphlets, and booklets have been published throwing much light on the subject. The Press, also, in late years, has lent considerable assistance to shopworkers in reporting their meetings and in publishing articles bearing on different aspects of shop life.

All this has been useful work, the value of which must not be under-estimated. It seemed clear, however, that there was great need for the co-ordination of the work that has already been done, and for a fuller and more systematic investigation of the actual conditions at the present time. Pamphlets and newspaper articles are very good so far as they go, but they do not enable us to obtain knowledge anything like so comprehensive as that gathered in studying the subject as presented in book form.

To meet the twofold need indicated above, we have worked for some considerable time, and now venture to submit to shopworkers and those interested in shop life, the results of our labours.

At one time shop assistants ourselves, and at present actively engaged in the shop life reform movement, being members of the permanent

staff of the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employés, and one holding the position of chairman, and the other of secretary, of the Manchester Federation of Shopworkers and Clerks, we write with intimate personal and practical knowledge of shop life and labour.

The work has been done under great difficulties, arising not only by reason of the lack of time which could be devoted to it, but also on account of the greater part of it being along entirely original lines, involving hundreds of hours of research, and a great deal of correspondence and personal inquiry.

So many persons have assisted us to secure information that we cannot mention them all individually, but our thanks are due and are readily given to all who have helped us in any way.

The work itself is not so exhaustive or complete in detail as we hoped to make it. As will be noted by the observant reader, we have specialised on a few of the main questions exercising the minds of those engaged in endeavouring to ameliorate the lot of those who distribute the necessaries of life.

We hope the reader will find as much pleasure and knowledge in the reading of this volume as we have gained in the writing of it. If our hope is realised, our labour will not have been in vain.

JOSEPH HALLSWORTH.
RHYS J. DAVIES.

22, *Long Millgate,*
Manchester,
August 6th, 1910.

THE WORKING LIFE OF SHOP ASSISTANTS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL SKETCH.

I.—Shopkeeping in Bygone Days—Growth of Trading and Distribution with Increase in National Wealth Production—As Shown by Enormous Increase of Shops and Stores—Rise of Multiple Shop and Large Stores Systems.
II.—Creation of Large Wage-Earning Class—Shop Assistants' General Conditions of Labour—Co-operative Stores—Position and Conditions of Labour Therein.

I.

CONTINUAL changes have taken place in the organisation of the distributive trade in this country during the last century. In the old days, a shopkeeper's assistant, at the close of his apprenticeship, and a few years spent as a journeyman, hoped to, and frequently did, commence business on his own account, with reasonable chances of material success. There was a very close personal contact between employer, apprentice, and journeyman, and between one employer and another. A real human relationship subsisted between each and all of these persons. And although, to some extent, the conditions of those days made the employé somewhat servile to his master, there were

distinct advantages resulting from the personal supervision exercised by the master. The apprentice, if we may judge from historical records, was properly taught his trade, which is, generally speaking, more than we can claim nowadays. The employer was required by the Guild to provide for his apprentice proper board, lodging, and clothing, in default of which penalties were imposed, and in extremely bad cases the apprentice taken away and placed elsewhere. Thus, although somewhat in the nature of a domestic servant, the apprentice had a certain amount of real protection accorded to him, and so far as the requirements of the day were concerned, he appears to have been on the whole not unkindly treated.

Shopkeeping at the time we refer to was carried on entirely by small masters, and the assistants in any single shop were but few in number.

Then came the Industrial Revolution, bringing vast changes in the organisation of industry. With increased wealth production came a tremendous growth in trading and distribution, and in the numbers engaged in obtaining a living in such work. This may be seen very readily by reference to statistics. Mulhall stated that in 1875 there were 295,000 shops and stores in this country; by 1886 the number had reached 366,000; an increase in eleven years of 71,000. According to the Fifty-First Report of Inland Revenue (p. 144), the number of shops in 1897 was 408,840; in 1900, 438,195; and in 1907, 459,592. In the thirty-two years from 1875 to 1907, the increase in the number of shops amounted to the huge total of 164,592.

It must not be supposed, however, that this great increase in the number of shops and stores indicates a corresponding increase of small independent shopkeepers, though the number of small traders is greater now than ever it has been. But their proportion of the total volume of trade is not so large as it was before the entrance of big capitalism into the field of distribution. And it tends to get less and less. The amount of business done by petty tradesmen is completely outweighed by that of the great multiple firms and stores, which are rapidly increasing their hold of trading operations, not only in this country, but in others also. For some considerable time there has been steady conversion of private businesses into companies, entirely new companies floated, and in turn amalgamations of companies effected. The result to the small traders who are met with the competition of these large concerns is disastrous. Thousands of them find their way into the Bankruptcy Court every year, as a result of the pitiless struggle in which they have engaged. It is impossible to ignore the fact that as time goes on the difficulty of setting up as a small merchant or shopkeeper with any chance of success is greatly increased. The small trader is more and more being relegated to the back street, there to eke out a living as best he can on a poor class of trade. There are old shops re-opened and new shops started, it is true, but most of them have no solid foundation, and many are but agencies for the large wholesale and manufacturing firms, and are carried on only with great difficulty and insecurity. The fact is, that in many cases, as Vandervelde puts it,

"petty trading is, *par excellence*, the refuge of the cripples of capitalism." Many people enter upon the shopkeeping business without any particular knowledge and with little capital, and these very soon come to grief, only to be followed by others quite as ignorant and unsubstantial. Thus we have a continual emptying and refilling of the ranks of petty shopkeepers.

An idea of the extent of the combination of capital in the distributive trade may be gathered from the fact that in this country 70,000 shops are owned and controlled by joint-stock companies, or nearly one-sixth of the total number of shops. If we add to this total of joint-stock shops that of co-operative stores, which reaches 5,951*, we shall see that 75,951 of the shops of the country are held by these two sections of associated capital.

Some of these firms are enormous undertakings. To emphasise this point we here give a few illustrations. Mr. W. C. Anderson (late organiser of the Shop Assistants' Union), some time ago, compiled a short list of great trading firms and the number of their branches of business. These we have carefully analysed, and the result is presented in Table I.

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*This is counting only the number of central and branch places of business. A branch may consist of several shops, as, say, a grocery shop, butchery shop, drapery shop. There are no available figures as to the number of shops for each place of business. The number of co-operative distributive societies in the United Kingdom is about 1,500. The places of business in connection with these societies total 5,951, so that the figures given in the text above as to the number of co-operative shops are set down at the minimum.

TABLE I.

Nature of Trade.	No. of Companies.	No. of Branches.
Chemists	1	320
Jewellers	1	40
Clothiers, Outfitters, and Boot Dealers	15	1,880
Meat Salesmen	3	2,250
Grocers and Provision Salesmen	13	2,510
Tobacconists	1	150
Totals	34	7,150

A firm in London, we are told, has thirty-two separate trading departments under one roof, and employs 5,000 shopworkers. A few other London stores each control the labour of several thousand people. Another large company controls 1,200 shops and has 4,000 employés. The daily meat sales of this firm are said to be 175 tons.

Thirty-six retail drapery companies situated in London, had at the close of 1909 an aggregate paid-up capital of £11,320,000, and, in addition, outstanding debentures amounting to £3,569,000. The reserve funds were £2,316,000, and the balances carried forward £365,000.

Eleven provincial retail drapery companies had an aggregate capital of £1,022,000, and debentures amounting to £205,000.

The foregoing are examples of the modern combination of capital in distribution. A most noticeable feature of the present day, also, is that of the growing tendency of manufacturers to take over the commercial side of their businesses, as exemplified in the case of the boot trade, in which the manufacturers have opened retail shops for the sale of their own productions. In other cases well-known

grocery and provision firms have commenced producing certain articles and drawing dairy produce from their own farms.

Some of the co-operative stores conduct great businesses. Table II. shows the share

TABLE II.

Society	Share Capital.	Annual Sales.	No. of Distributive Employés.
	£	£	
Bolton	737,784	917,701	763
Leeds	821,282	1,621,818	1,623
Pendleton	355,734	688,511	658
Plymouth	426,880	730,879	903
Oldham (2 societies).	411,335	891,201	610
Rochdale (2 soc'ties)	489,773	602,214	435
Barnsley	487,831	855,573	564
Sheffield (2 soc'ties)	307,253	759,106	759
Edinburgh	582,136	1,442,969	1,513
Glasgow (7 soc'ties)	341,570	1,599,794	2,735
Leicester	216,167	438,246	410
Derby	261,191	555,184	596
Newcastle-on-Tyne..	338,900	584,995	695
Blaydon-on-Tyne . .	213,255	296,256	206
Bishop Auckland ..	368,193	616,990	370
Bradford	399,663	513,436	404
Dewsbury	287,367	291,215	219
Eccles	294,674	498,663	454
Manchester	221,910	357,710	486
Accrington	266,689	314,021	196
Darwen (Industrial)	235,737	242,825	190
Preston	218,429	463,038	331
Bury (Lancashire) .	284,104	372,166	251
Stratford (London).	255,804	526,100	704
Woolwich	253,991	492,366	681
TOTALS	£9,077,652	£16,672,977	16,756

The total number of retail distributive co-operative societies, relating to which returns are available, is 1,430. The share capital is £30,804,246; annual sales, £70,375,078; and the number of distributive employés, 62,686.

capital, annual sales, and number of distributive employés of some of the largest co-operative distributive societies in the country,

II.

The concentration of capital in distribution has, we hope, been sufficiently demonstrated to the reader in the foregoing notes. It remains for us to briefly indicate the general position of shopworkers, now, it should be noted, a large permanent class of wage-earners, with little chance of ever becoming anything more.

Speaking broadly, there is no other class of workers at once so numerically strong and so economically poor.* This is not difficult to understand. Shop assistants have never solidly stood together like other workers. Somehow, a false notion of social superiority has always possessed them. Then again, the class is made up of so many grades, each insisting upon recognition of its own special privileges and position. Thus feelings of class solidarity have not been very sympathetically engendered among the great majority of shopworkers, and the usual result of non-organisation is seen in the relatively bad economic conditions under which they labour.

As fully outlined in Chapter II., the wages of shopworkers are on the average very much lower than those obtained by workers in occupations calling for similar training, skill, and adaptability. No standard of wages has been agreed upon, and in the absence of such agree-

* It has been estimated that there are 1,000,000 shop assistants in the United Kingdom.

ment rates of pay continually bear down to the lowest level.

Joint-stock commercialism is absolutely soulless. Profits, and greater profits are the aim and end of distributive trading. In order to swell the profit fund, managers and directors are always on the alert, endeavouring on every possible occasion to reduce expenses. Rates and taxes must be paid; establishment charges have to be met; advertising has to be well done, and costs a good deal of money. All these charges are inevitable. But the case is different with labour. Its remuneration is cut down to the minimum necessary for the maintenance of efficiency. Labour, which is life, is regarded as of less importance than dead charges, and is made to yield up its rightful dues to clamorous, profit-seeking shareholders. And what is true of big capitalism is true also of small capitalism. Small traders are forced by the pressure of competition, and ever in an increasing degree, to whittle down expenses as low as possible, and, as is usual under such circumstances, the wages bill is the item which is marked for special attention. No matter how well disposed towards his small staff the trader may be, he is often forced by economic circumstances to treat them in an illiberal fashion.

The very food consumed by shop assistants is made the subject of profit. In many living-in establishments the board and lodging department yields a handsome profit to the employers. And well it may! Many are the tales that are and could be told of the miserable food and lodging provided, upon which a value is placed by employers altogether beyond its intrinsic worth. It seems strange that assistants should

submit to have the kind, quality, and quantity of their victuals prescribed for them, and to have no voice in choosiug their bedroom mates. In such submission they exhibit, in our view, a lamentable lack of self-respect and moral courage. Living-in, even in the best houses, means the personal demoralisation of the employé. It is slavery. The system shuts off a large mass of workers from domestic, social, and political responsibilities and advantages, men and women whose potentialities for useful work in the public service are undoubtedly great It is a system which rightly belongs to the past. It is an anachronism to-day. Shopworkers, equally with all other classes of toilers, are entitled to receive their wages in full in the current coin of the realm, and to spend those wages how and when they choose. It would be a good thing both for themselves and the community if they pressed forward the recognition of this right. Until they do this the degree of respect which people feel for them will not be very great.

Another grievance of shopworkers is the excessive labour they are called upon to perform. In Chapter III. the case for reduction of the hours of work is stated at length, and we need not say much here. But it cannot be too often insisted upon that overwork is so grievous an injury, not only to shopworkers themselves, but also to the nation, as to call for immediate drastic action. The physical well-being of a large proportion of the nation's toilers is daily, yea hourly, in danger, a state of things which could be altered without doing anybody an injury. No nation claiming to be advanced in civilisation should allow so much

of its life-blood to be drained as it is being drained at the present time, merely for the aggrandisement of plutocrats, or for a fancied convenience of shoppers.

And while we complain of overwork, we are confronted with devastation produced by unemployment and under-employment. The subject we believe to be of so much importance that we have devoted a considerable portion of the book to its consideration. No finer illustration of the chaotic results produced by the present industrial and commercial system could be found than that seen in the case of distributive unemployment. Of course, it is quite obvious that trading is simply the exchanging of commodities, and is the sequence of productive effort. Therefore, depression in productive industries adversely affects the purchasing power of the producer, and so reduces the trade done by shopkeepers, and the amount of distributive labour required by them.

In late years there has been exercised by a comparatively small band of organised shop assistants an influence altogether out of proportion to their numbers, and it is the one ray of light that shines across the dark sky of shop life. It must not be thought that the 20,000 members of the Shop Assistants' Union are the worst treated of their class. On the contrary, they number in their ranks many whose position in shop life is comparatively good. Those referred to as the "bottom-dogs of shopdom" are most difficult to organise, because they have no hope; it has long ago been crushed out of their hearts by the cruel conditions under which their lives are spent. They

will probably be the last to fall into line, when their imaginations are struck by some great success achieved by trade unionism; or, it may be, we shall have to wait for some turn in the wheel of general progress to yield to them material and moral benefits which shall inspire them with hope of yet better things, and implant in their minds a sense of the economic value of their labour.

We now come to a brief outline of employment in the co-operative distributive trades.

Those who have studied the history of the co-operative movement will scarcely need reminding that it began in practical form at a time when the life of labour was at a very low ebb. It was born out of the misery and pain of the workers, who were almost completely held in economic bondage to the arrogant capitalism of the time. By dint of great sacrifice they collected and united their small subscriptions to raise the necessary capital to begin business on their own account, with a view to self-employment.

And these poor pioneers of co-operation had an *ideal*—the emancipation of labour from the thraldom of capitalism. They realised very clearly that so long as the workers were crushed under the iron heel of capitalism; so long as they received only such wages as made mere existence a desperate struggle—so long would they be excluded from taking their proper and rightful place in the national life and government. They were denied the means of education, the right to aspire to intellectual development, and to leave their mark on the path of the progress of humanity. They rebelled—to their credit. Their wonderful faith,

enthusiasm, determination, shrewdness, and unity should be sources of inspiration to present-day co-operators.

The *ideal* of co-operation was the elevation of labour, in the best sense of the phrase. The movement had a moral basis. Its literature from the commencement right down to the present time teems with declarations of this fact. Two of its greatest exponents—Owen and Holyoake—never tired of appealing for support in its favour on high moral grounds. Hughes, Neale, Blandford and other great co-operators were fired with missionary zeal for co-operation because they believed it to be founded on great ethical principles, and capable of solving the labour problem.

From hundreds of platforms at the present day eloquent appeals are made by co-operative orators, dignitaries of the Church, and Labour leaders in support of co-operation, on the ground that it is a system of industry which is based on honesty and justice, a system under which no sweated or underpaid labour is employed. It is claimed that the co-operative movement treats its workers fairly, even generously, and is a model for other employers of labour to copy.

Whilst we contest this claim, we grant there is a noble desire on the part of some of the leaders of the movement to incarnate in practice the idealism of Robert Owen and the Rochdale Pioneers, and the Co-operative Congresses of the last decade bear witness to the fact that if they could legislate for the movement as a whole, they would make it a standard employer of labour, a moral business concern, and a truly democratic institution.

The workers in the co-operative movement

may be divided roughly into two classes, viz., productive and distributive. Those businesses carried on by productive societies, in which trade unionism is firmly established, invariably recognise trade union rates of wages, and very seldom have the skilled tradesmen to complain of unfair treatment respecting wages and pay for overtime. But where societies enter into the production of commodities in which unorganised, unskilled, or semi-skilled workers are employed, the wages are determined, not by any custom of trade, but by the general acceptance by the workers of the rates of wages offered, which in some instances are not better than those paid in the factories of the capitalist employer. This last remark, until only a few years ago, was also true with respect to distributive workers in stores, with which particular class we purpose to deal in this book. But trade unionism amongst co-operative commercial workers during the last dozen years has made rapid strides* and effected a tremendous difference in their economic and social status and remuneration, and this difference is likely to become more and more pronounced as the years go by. By reason of this stimulus of trade union activity, and a growing social consciousness, a number of societies have set up a standard of general labour conditions which compare very favourably with the best private employers, a fact we cheerfully and ungrudgingly admit. It is, of course, well-known that so far as hours of labour are concerned co-

*There are nearly 63,000 employés in distributive societies; of these 30,000 are now organised in the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employés, which has been in existence twenty years.

operative societies are far in advance of private establishments.

Although admitting all this, we venture to submit that the evidence adduced at a later stage with regard to the actual conditions prevailing in the co-operative stores of the country will prove that the claim of co-operators to be model employers cannot by any means be said to be fully sustained. On the contrary, we affirm that sweating and under-payment are prevalent, and that labour is undoubtedly often treated not as human life, but rather as a mere factor in the total sum of expense. It is traded in just as are inanimate articles, and as if it possessed no human needs, desires, and aspirations.

It is said that the boards of management of the fourteen hundred distributive societies in the United Kingdom are largely composed of trade unionists. We must disagree with this statement, because although it may be true that the members of these boards are members of trade unions, they are not necessarily trade unionists in thought and spirit. We know cases of co-operative directors, members of trade unions, some of them holding official positions in the labour movement, demanding and enforcing trade union conditions of labour from capitalist employers, and refusing such conditions to the employés of the societies they control. It seems an anomaly, too, that co-operative propagandists who are continually denouncing the capitalist employer for his tyrannical treatment of labour, are at the same time guilty of allowing the most evil conditions to prevail in businesses under their control and influence. There are speakers on co-operative

platforms who revel in their tirades against sweating and its consequences in the private trade, but allow nothing short of the same evils in the societies with which they are associated, and about which they are often quite ignorant, taking things for granted without inquiry.

But the speakers are idealists, and the delegates to the annual Co-operative Congress and other periodical gatherings are men and women who do not necessarily control the business of local stores. The result is that even the lecturers on the official list of the Co-operative Union do not bring before the public facts based on local experiences, but statements incorporating their ideals and desires, which are very often laughed out of court in the board-rooms and quarterly meetings of co-operative members. There does not seem to be in the co-operative movement much power to control labour conditions outside the board-rooms of individual stores. It is, in fact, a growing menace that the members' power even to only " recommend " to the board is curtailed, and it is common knowledge that the greatest offence is given to the etiquette of co-operative officialism when the general body of members desire to give instructions for the carrying-out of any scheme relating to conditions of employment in their establishments. To say that the labour idealist can as a co-operator bring about better wages, shorter hours of labour, or more sanitary shops is wide of the mark. He may bring about reforms if he secures a place on the board of management, but if he agitates from his place as an ordinary member he has, in many societies, no more chance than the ordinary shareholder of a railway concern has

in the control of the employés of the company. The democratic principle of members' control over co-operative business is violated even more flagrantly still, for in the case of some co-operative societies the employés who are members are denied full rights of membership, and deprived of the right to vote in the election of boards of management at the business meetings of the societies. The right of employés to sit on boards of management by virtue of co-operative membership is almost universally denied by special registered rule.

The general Press of the country, with rare exceptions, although representing individualist interests, has generally communicated to the public those facts which tell in favour of co-operative institutions. This is probably due to the ignorance of ordinary newspaper men regarding the actual state of things prevailing. On the other hand, the co-operative Press has, we are glad to state, done very much in recent years in giving expression to the previously inarticulate plaint of the downtrodden employé.

The employés themselves have inculcated the principles of co-operation by means of the facilities offered them by the educational committees of societies to such a degree that they forget their economic position as workers. And although educational classes are established and hundreds of co-operative workers pass the examinations and gain certificates of proficiency in bookkeeping, management, economics, citizenship, and co-operative history, theory and practice, there is no standard rate of remuneration given in conformity with the increased knowledge and technical skill attained. The

municipalities and the State provide for their employés salaries according to length of service, attainments, and ability. But in the co-operative movement there is no distinction made between the intellectual and certificated grocer or other worker and the ordinary employé who never attempts any study of the technicalities of trade. At present there are young men who can claim to have successfully passed all the examinations and tests organised by the Co-operative Union and other educational institutions, and are still employed at the same rates of remuneration as those who have made no attempt to secure evidences of fitness and ability.

The three main factors actually operating in co-operative business are (1) capital; (2) labour; and (3) trade. Capital is paid at certain fixed rates of interest; labour's reward is wages at rates which it is strong enough to demand and enforce; trade receives dividend at a rate per pound sterling which depends upon the amount of net profits earned.

Seldom has there been any doubt in reference to the payment of capital. It receives in small societies about 5 per cent. per annum. When the societies become stronger and the financial position is a sound one, the interest drops to as low as 2½ per cent. Nearly every old-established store has its own methods of adding interest upon shares. Some pay according to purchases, others take no notice of the amount of the members' trade, but pay full interest throughout.

Labour has, as yet, been a very reasonable and calm claimant to the share of the wealth it helps to create. The large army of distributive workers has not yet taken what we think may be

called a determined stand for better conditions. Very many of them are aspirants to higher positions requiring purely commercial routine study, and give little time to the consideration of their economic standing. There are others who believe so thoroughly in the principles of co-operation that they prefer not to stain "the fair name" of the movement by complaining or agitating for redress; and we have no hesitation in stating that a strong palliative for industrial emancipation, such as this movement claims to be, blinds many co-operative workers to the real meaning of the economic freedom of labour. This applies mostly to those who have gained a footing on the ladder of promotion. The rank and file are a discontented body, not well-treated as a whole, and so far as wages are concerned very many of them have no palpable advantage as workers over their confrères in the private trade.

Trade is a more unwieldy force in the co-operative arena. It demands from one to three shillings (or more) in the pound dividend quarterly according to the profits, and it is not uncommon to find the payment of dividends of four shillings and upwards. It would, we think, be quite true to say that the craze for large dividends which seems to have taken hold of a great number of co-operators, is responsible for those frequent departures from principle which all true friends of the movement so deeply deplore. And in this connection perhaps no principle is so often departed from as that of the fair treatment of labour.

CHAPTER II.

WAGES.

I.—Paucity of Historical Information—Shop Work "Respectable"—Shopworkers' Wages Always Tended to Level of Mere Subsistence.—"Sweating" Defined—Shopworkers a Sweated Class.

II.—A Statistical Statement and Analysis of Present Position in Private Trade—Some Details of Wages in Sixteen Towns—Sweated Café Workers—A Manchester Investigation—Bar-Tenders' Low Wages.

III.—Profit-sharing with Labour in Co-operative Stores—Not held as a Basic Principle by Modern Co-operators—A Co-operative Historian on "Dividend Seekers"—Wages in Co-operative Stores—Entirely Original Researches—Wages Tables of Minimum and Maximum Rates of Men and Women—An Interesting Analysis—Some Bad Cases of Sweating and Under-Payment—Conclusion.

I.

WE have been greatly disappointed in studying historical records of work and wages to find that little has been done in the past in the way of registering for different periods the wages of shop assistants. To trace reliable statistics that give anything like a real survey of

the course of wages in the distributive trades we find impossible. No doubt this paucity of information is due very largely to the fact that prior to the period covered by the last twenty years there was no trade union of shop assistants in existence large enough to be able to collate and publish the facts relative to the conditions of shop life. It is only of trades which have long been organised that intelligible records of labour conditions exist. Again, shop assistants have always been and still are most secretive in respect to their pay. To inform each other as to the amount of wages individually received is considered unbecoming and undignified. And the fact that the occupation of the shop assistant demands a standard of dress and polish much above that of the "ordinary" workman has given it an appearance of great respectability in the eyes of the public. It is true that in recent years this conception has been much modified. It is now considered by many that "the shop assistant dresses like a lord on the wages of a dustman." Those more intimately acquainted with the life know that thousands of shop assistants to-day would count themselves lucky if their wages were up to the same level as those of the dustman.

Although we are to some extent handicapped in our present work by the absence of statistics going back sufficiently far to enable us to make comparisons of value, we can safely say that the wages of the majority of workers in the distributive trades must always have tended on the average to the level of mere subsistence, a "datum line which remains pretty constant. If we find any class existing just at this sub-

sistence level, we may feel quite sure that no great improvement can have taken place in its condition."* We have spoken to many veterans in the trade, but none of them could give any assurance of general upward movements in wages having been made within their recollection. There is every reason to think that shop assistants, as much in the matter of wages as in hours and conditions generally, have stood still whilst other workers have made progress. Sidney Webb, although admitting that as between 1837 and 1897 there was a great advance in the condition of a very large part of the people, says "it is essential to notice the fact that this great advance in prosperity, this great rise in the standard of life, has not been universal. There are living in our midst to-day considerable masses of people who, as regards their economic circumstances, are still in 1837." † In these "considerable masses" must be included shop assistants. We find that in 1839 a low standard of remuneration was a matter of complaint by London linen-drapers' assistants. "We do not attain for ourselves present emolument superior to the artisan. He has twice as much leisure as we and nearly the wages." Shop assistants of to-day complain in almost the same words. And what they say is very true. Engineers, joiners, printers, and others demand and get wages varying from 8d. to 10d. per hour; the dockers long ago won their "tanner"; but shop assistants are content to maintain an existence—it cannot be truly termed a life—on an average wage of 3¼d. an

* "Labour in the Longest Reign" (p. 5).
† Ibid. (p. 5).

hour. In many cases the rate per hour is as low as 2d. Rates of wages which other workers through their trade unions fought for and won fifty years ago are still in the future so far as shop assistants are concerned.

In recent years we have heard a good deal about sweating and under-payment in various trades and industries. Public attention has been drawn to the terrible conditions under which the unorganised and poorly-organised workers of this country earn their daily bread. The conscience of the nation has been aroused, with the result that Parliament has already made a start in providing the machinery necessary for the establishment of wages minima in certain industries.

Shop labour has not yet been classed as "sweated" by politicians. It is worth while, therefore, to inquire what constitutes sweating. Miss Clementina Black tells us that "the term 'sweating,' to which at one time the notion of sub-contract was attached, has gradually come to be applied to almost every method of work under which workers are extremely ill-paid or extremely overworked; and the 'sweater' means nowadays the employer who cuts down wages below the level of decent subsistence, works his operatives for excessive hours, or compels them to toil under insanitary conditions." *

Mrs. Sidney Webb speaks of the employer who "pays starvation wages to his adult workers, and 'sweats' them without regard to their health or endurance, knowing that when they are disabled or worn-out, the hospital and the

*"Sweated Industry" (p. 1).

workhouse will receive them at the expense of the community." *

If there is one occupation of which the words of these two writers are descriptive it is surely that of shop assistants.† They are an extremely ill-paid class of workers. The competition amongst them for employment is of the fiercest kind, and they are thus the easy victims of profit-mongering employers. Their wages are looked upon as an elastic medium capable of any amount of compression. Personally, they are like serfs, disposable pretty much at the will or convenience of the employer. In short, they are merely pawns on the commercial chess-board.

In the pages that follow we show as fully as is possible the wages paid to those engaged in the distributive trades. Our own inquiries respecting conditions in general have been directed to all parts of the country, and the facts elicited all go to show that shop labour is exploited to the utmost possible limit, and is grossly under-paid. And this under-payment affects a very large amount of labour. It is impossible to measure the volume of social misery and deterioration created by the sweating of commercial employés, but that it is vast and deep must be obvious to the average person.

As there are peculiar conditions attached to co-operative employment we have dealt

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* "Socialism and National Minimum" (p. 24).

† We do not wish to be misunderstood upon this point. It is quite true that a small proportion of shopworkers (chiefly managers) are in receipt of fairly good wages. The great bulk of shop assistants, however, are, in our opinion, sweated.

separately with the wages paid in that particular section of the distributive trade. A better idea of the relative value of employment under private capitalism and voluntary collectivism will thus be obtained by the student.

II.

Some years ago, in a statement of the earnings of assistant grocers, oil and colourmen, in London, Mr. Charles Booth gave the following figures :—Out of 770 adult men employed in those trades, 64½ per cent. received less than 30s. a week; 20 per cent. from 30s. to 35s.; and 15½ per cent. received over that sum. The firms employed 314 women, of whom 41 per cent. earned under 12s. a week; and of 344 boys employed, 62½ per cent. received under 12s. per week.

Perhaps the best statement yet issued on the rates of wages of shop assistants in the private trade was the report of the Minimum Wage Committee of the Shop Assistants' Union, which was presented to the annual conference at Birmingham in 1909. This report contained a synopsis of the wages returns of nearly 2,000 members of the Union, or 10 per cent. of the total membership. The committee stated that though the response to inquiries was not so good as might reasonably be expected, the figures obtained showed clearly the chaos existing in the distributive trades in regard to wages. The most noticeable feature is that of the wide differences between the lowest and

highest rates of pay. On this point it is well to state that the comparatively high rates per hour of some classes are applicable to only a small number of persons, and the wages of the great mass of shopworkers gravitate towards a very much lower level, how low, in some cases, will be seen from the figures quoted below.

The committee in deciding the total value of each living-in member's remuneration added 15s. and 13s. per week for London and the Provinces respectively, and after doing that they found that for time actually worked—

The wages of men assistants in the drapery trade in the Provinces range from 2d. to 1s. 0¼d. per hour; in London, from 2½d. to 1s. 4d. Women are receiving from 1d. to 7¼d. in the Provinces, and 2½d. to 6¼d. in London.

The wages of men grocers in the Provinces vary from 3¾d. to 8¾d., and in London from 2¾d. to 8¼d.

Butchers' assistants in the Provinces are paid any wages from 2¾d. to 8¾d. per hour. In London they are paid from 2½d. to 6¼d. per hour.

The boot trades pay their men assistants from 2¾d. to 8¼d. in the Provinces, and 5d. to 7d. in London. Women receive from 2¼d. to 6d. in both London and the Provinces.

The London tobacconists' men assistants get from 2¾d. to 5¾d. an hour. The Provincial men assistants receive from 2¾d. to 11d. per hour.

In the confectionery trade women obtain from 2d. to 4½d. in the country, and 2¼d. to 3¾d. in the Metropolis.

The following table is taken from the report of the committee :—

TABLE III.

SHOWING THE LOWEST AND HIGHEST WAGES PAID TO SHOPWORKERS IN VARIOUS TRADES IN LONDON AND THE PROVINCES, AND GIVING THE NUMBER OF ASSISTANTS AND SEX IN EACH CASE.

Capacity.		Sex.	No.	Wages. From	Wages. To
DRAPERS.					
Managers	Prov.	M	26	25/–	59/–
Manageress	Prov.	W	6	16/–	25/–
Assistants	Prov.	M	176	10/–	60/10
Assistants	Prov.	W	80	4/6	32/3
Assistants	Lond.	M	59	12/–	60/–
Assistants	Lond.	W	25	13/5	37/–
Shopwalker	Prov.	M	7	29/–	55/–
Buyers	Prov.	M	6	23/–	40/–
Buyers	Lond.	W	3	30/–	34/6
Warehousemen	Lond.	M	7	22/–	40/–
Packers	Lond.	M	6	19/–	31/–
Porters	Lond.	M	8	11/6	40/–
GROCERS.					
Managers	Prov.	M	200	18/6	73/–
Managers	Lond.	M	19	32/–	57/–
Assistants	Prov.	M	389	8/–	43/–
Assistants	Lond.	M	87	14/–	42/–
Travellers	Prov.	M	11	27/9	38/–
Warehousemen	Prov.	M	14	16/–	35/–
Warehousemen	Lond.	M	12	19/–	33/–
BOOTS.					
Managers	Prov.	M	70	22/–	90/–
Manageress	Prov.	W	2	10/–	21/6
Managers	Lond.	M	4	27/–	41/–
Assistants	Prov.	M	42	8/–	40/–
Assistants	Prov.	W	20	10/–	25/–
Assistants	Lond.	M	10	22/–	33/6
Assistants	Lond.	W	3	10/–	27/6
Warehousemen	Prov.	M	2	17/6	30/–
PAWNBROKERS.					
Managers	Lond.	M	8	18/–	64/–
Assistants	Prov.	M	10	20/–	40/6
Assistants	Lond.	M	3	27/–	40/–

TABLE III.—*Continued.*

BUTCHERS.

Capacity.	Sex.	No.	Wages. From	Wages. To
Managers.....Prov.	M	25	24/–	47/6
Managers.....Lond.	M	5	32/6	42/–
Assistants.....Prov.	M	26	16/–	37/–
Assistants.....Lond.	M	7	15/–	35/–
Van Salesmen...Prov.	M	8	20/–	33/–
Van Salesmen...Lond.	M	3	20/–	28/–

BOOKSELLERS AND STATIONERS.

Managers.....Prov.	M	5	21/–	50/–
Manageress.....Lond.	W	5	14/–	28/–
Travellers.....Lond.	M	2	45/–	50/–
Assistants.....Prov.	M	10	20/–	34/–
Assistants.....Prov.	W	6	12/–	29/3
Assistants.....Lond.	W	2	16/–	29/–

OIL AND COLOUR.

Managers.....Prov.	M	11	30/–	47/6

FISHMONGERS.

Managers.....Prov.	M	3	26/–	52/–
Assistants.....Prov.	M	4	21/–	28/–

FURNISHERS.

Managers.....Prov.	M	8	33/–	70/–
Assistants.....Prov.	M	29	10/–	55/–
Assistants.....Lond.	M	6	27/–	65/–

IRONMONGERS.

Managers.....Prov.	M	7	18/–	50/–
Managers.....Lond.	M	3	38/–	85/–
Assistants.....Prov.	M	31	20/–	45/–
Assistants.....Lond.	M	12	26/–	48/3
Warehousemen..Prov.	M	2	27/–	27/–

HATTERS.

Managers.....Prov.	M	7	29/–	60/–
Managers.....Lond.	M	2	35/–	38/6
Assistants.....Prov.	M	9	14/–	42/6
Assistants.....Lond.	M	3	23/–	30/–

JEWELLERS.

Managers.....Prov.	M	4	34/–	60/–
Assistants.....Prov.	M	10	25/–	47/9
Assistants.....Lond.	M	2	28/6	30/–

TABLE III.—*Continued.*

CLOTHIERS AND OUTFITTERS.

Capacity.	Sex.	No.	Wages. From	Wages. To
Managers.....Prov.	M	45	25/–	60/–
Managers.....Lond.	M	4	40/–	67/6
Cutters .....Prov.	M	3	25/–	42/–
Cutters .....Lond.	M	3	47/6	70/–
Assistants.....Lond.	M	19	22/–	55/–
Assistants.....Prov.	M	69	7/–	60/–
TOBACCONISTS.				
Managers.....Lond.	M	8	32/–	50/–
Managers.....Prov.	M	3	34/–	44/–
Assistants.....Lond.	M	9	17/6	31/6
Assistants.....Prov.	M	4	13/–	40/–
CHEMISTS.				
Managers.....Prov.	M	7	34/6	73/–
Assistants.....Prov.	M	3	30/–	34/–
HAIRDRESSERS.				
Assistants.....Prov.	M	10	24/–	36/–
Assistants.....Prov.	W	2	10/–	27/6
FRUITERERS.				
Assistants.....Prov.	M	3	23/–	28/–
CONFECTIONERS.				
Managers.....Prov.	M	3	30/–	35/–
Assistants.....Prov.	W	5	10/–	25/–
Assistants.....Lond.	W	2	12/–	22/–
CLERKS.				
Grocers.....Prov.	M	21	14/–	45/–
Grocers.....Prov.	W	3	15/–	23/8
Grocers .....Lond.	M	11	27/3	67/3
Grocers .....Lond.	W	3	14/–	35/–
Ironmongers....Lond.	M	7	20/–	40/–
Ironmongers....Prov.	M	7	20/–	33/–
Drapers. .....Prov.	M	5	22/6	38/–
Drapers. .....Prov.	W	13	10/–	41/10
Drapers. .....Lond.	M	16	19/–	36/–
Drapers. .....Lond.	W	6	20/–	29/2
Butchers. .....Prov.	M	2	26/–	35/–
Butchers. .....Lond.	W	3	14/–	25/–
Furnishers.....Prov.	M	8	18/–	40/–
Furnishers.....Prov.	W	5	10/–	25/–

The foregoing table shows only the *range* of wages, and is not sufficiently complete in details to give us exact knowledge of even the comparatively small number of workers reported upon. Then again, it must be borne in mind that the figures in the table are indicative only of the wages of what might be called the aristocracy of shop assistants—the best paid and best protected. Below these are masses of workers entirely unorganised and in receipt of extremely low wages.

To supplement the figures already set forth we give below an account of the wages paid to juniors and adults generally in a number of towns situated in various parts of the country. These particulars are based upon information supplied to the writers by members of the Shop Assistants' Union, and upon the results of personal inquiries.

GLASGOW.—Gents.' hairdressers are paid 22s. to 26s.; ladies' hands, from 30s. to 36s.; and a commission on earnings in most shops from 2s. to 5s. a week. Women's wages in all classes of shops range from 7s. to 12s. for second hands, and 15s. to 20s. for first, or "charge" hands.

BIRKENHEAD.—Boys, 5s. and 6s.; girls, 2s. 6d., 3s., 4s., and 5s. In many cases a so-called apprenticeship of two years is served for nothing. Women very rarely get more than 10s. per week. A bad case is that of a manageress (in charge of fifteen juniors and buyer for a good general trade) getting 22s. per week. Men over 22 years of age get from 24s. to 50s., but a safe standard may be assumed between 30s. and 35s.

LEAMINGTON.—Boys and girls during apprenticeship receive from 1s. to 3s. 6d. per week

without board or lodging. In some cases where board and lodging are provided a premium is required. Men are paid the following wages from 21 to 30 years of age in the several trades :— Drapery and clothing, 16s. to 25s. ; ironmongery, 16s. to 28s. ; boots, 16s. to 25s. ; grocery, 16s. to 27s. Women of 18 to 25 years of age are paid in drapery shops, 6s. to 15s. ; boot shops, 5s. to 12s. ; confectionery shops, 8s. to 12s. ; hairdressers, 10s. to 18s. ; milliners, 8s. to 15s.

MANCHESTER.—Young women in the shops of a large confectionery firm receive on the average 7s. per week of seven days. A large firm where living-in is generally a condition of employment, pay qualified assistants £25 a year salary. The food supplied, however, is so meagre as to necessitate the expenditure out of the assistant's wages of 3s. to 4s. for extras.

IPSWICH.—Juniors, 16s. to 20s. ; assistants, 20s. to 30s.

JARROW-ON-TYNE.—Boys commence at 14 years of age, at 4s. per week, with an annual increase of 2s. ; girls at 14 years get 3s. per week, and an annual increase of the same amount as the boys, except in drapery shops, where they have to work for twelve months for nothing. Men generally receive about 21s., 24s., 27s. 6d., and 30s. Women are paid from 10s. to 18s. per week.

LANCASTER.—Boys and girls, 3s. 6d. ; and assistants, 20s. to 35s. per week.

PAISLEY.—Wages of boys in all classes of shops are 5s. per week, rising by 2s. annually ; and girls 4s., rising by 1s. 6d. annually.

FERNDALE.—Females, 6s. to 12s. per week ; youths, 8s. to 12s. ; men, 25s. to 32s. 6d.

HYDE.—Boys and girls usually commence at 5s., and the wage is increased by 2s. each year. For male assistants, from 21 to 25 years of age, the average wage is about 23s.; from 25 years to 30 years, 28s.

CANTON (Cardiff).—Boys in all trades earn on an average from 5s. to 7s. weekly. Drapery trade wages are difficult to ascertain, but two bad cases of sweating call for special mention. In one firm a young woman had served her apprenticeship, and for twelve months afterwards was paid 2s. 6d. per week. She was then asked to stop on for £1 a month, living out. Another young woman in the same establishment was asked to sign an agreement, after serving her full time, to work on another six months for 3s. a week. Butchers' wages are bad, being in some cases as low as 7s. (living in). In the fruit trade women are employed mostly, and their wages range from 8s. to 15s. Junior assistants in the grocery trade receive from 18s. to 25s., and experienced assistants, 27s. to 33s. These are the wages paid in shops owned by individuals. The standard of wages in the multiple firms is rather lower, an experienced man obtaining on the average 24s. to 28s. In the boot trade wages are bad, generally speaking. Some managers get only 25s.; junior assistants, 16s. to 19s.; experienced assistants, 21s. to 25s. There are but few women employed in the trade, and these get from 5s. to 8s.

STAFFORD.—Boys' wages range from 4s. to 7s. 6d. Girls in some drapery establishments serve two years without wages, although premiums are paid to them, and, when living-in, a few shillings for pocket money. After two years' service wages range from 4s. 6d. to 10s.

Grocery cash girls and those engaged in fancy trades get 3s. 6d. to 8s. 6d. Women assistants in the drapery, fancy goods and stationery shops are paid 10s. 6d. to 21s., and heads of departments, 15s. to 35s. In boot shops the women assistants receive 10s. 6d. to 20s. In the grocery trade junior male assistants' wages are from 14s. to 22s. 6d.; seniors, 25s. to 35s.; managers and heads of departments, 30s. to 50s. Wages in clothing and outfitting establishments are—juniors, 18s. to 25s.; seniors, 27s. 6d. to 35s.; managers, heads of departments, and buyers, 30s. to 60s. In some cases premiums or commissions are paid in addition to wages. In drapery shops males wages are—juniors, 18s. to 25s.; seniors, 25s. to 32s. 6d., with premiums; managers and buyers, 30s. to 60s., with premiums or commissions.

PENARTH (Glam).—Wages are as follows in the different trades:—Clothing and outfitting: Managers, 35s.; senior assistants, 25s.; juniors, 8s. to 12s.; boys, 6s. Ironmongery: Managers, 30s. to 35s.; senior assistants, 24s. to 27s. 6d.; juniors, 12s.; boys, 5s. to 7s. Butchering: Managers, 35s. to 40s. and meat; senior assistants, 25s. and meat; juniors, 12s. to 15s. and meat; boys, 5s. to 7s. 6d. and meat. Fruit, tobacco, and fancy shops: Women only employed, whose wages are 5s., 8s., and 10s. Boots and shoes: Managers, 35s. to 50s., with house and gas; senior men assistants, 24s.; juniors, 10s.; boys, 5s. to 7s. Grocery: Managers, 50s. to 60s.; senior assistants, 27s. 6d. to 35s.; juniors, 22s. to 25s.; boys (first year), 5s.; second, 7s. 6d.; third, 10s.; and in some cases, 5s., 7s., and 8s.; girls in cash desks, 5s., 8s., and 10s. Drapery: Male assistants, shop-

walkers, and window-dressers, 30s. to 40s., and dinner and tea; seniors, living-in, £30 per annum; juniors, living-in, £12; apprentices, 1s. pocket money occasionally allowed; women senior assistants, living-in, £25 to £30; juniors, living-out, £12 to £16; apprentices, 1s. pocket money now and again.

EDINBURGH.—Men's wages mostly range between 20s. and 30s. Women's and girls' wages in the different trades are as follow:—Grocery and provisions: Cash girls, 4s. to 6s.; confectioners' assistants, 8s. to 12s.; ham trade, seldom over 14s.; fish trade, 7s. to 15s. Bread, confectionery, fruit, and tobacconist: 6s. to 13s. Fancy goods: Apprentices, 5s. to 6s.; assistants, 7s. to 10s.; manageresses, 10s. to 12s. 6d., seldom 15s. Girls in this trade are often expected to do men's work in the unpacking of goods. Drapery: Apprentices, 5s. to 10s.; assistants, 10s. to 15s.; manageresses, 15s. to 20s. In one of the best drapery establishments, where there is no settled apprenticeship, beginners receive 3s. per week, and the average wage of a competent saleswoman is 12s. to 15s. exclusive of dinner and tea, which may be given on the premises. At certain periods of the year premiums are given for the disposal of certain articles.

BLACKPOOL.—Boot and shoe shops: Boys, 5s to 6s.; girls, 4s. to 5s.; male assistants, 16s. to 20s.; female assistants, 7s. to 15s.; managers, 25s. to 40s., generally with house and commission. Drapery shops: Girl apprentices, 2s. to 5s.; female assistants, 5s. to 15s.; male assistants, 15s. to 25s.; managers, 25s. to 40s. Grocery shops: Wages are about the same as those in boot shops

except that managers very seldom get house free. In confectionery, sweetmeat, and tobacconists' shops the wages of females range from 5s. to 10s. Calculated by time worked, wages are as follow: 1d. to 2d. per hour for girls and boys; 2d. to 3½d. per hour for women and male assistants between the ages of eighteen and twenty-three.

In September, 1909, a number of meetings were held in Manchester with the object of placing before the public the grievances of shopworkers. It was stated by representative speakers that "hundreds of shopgirls in Manchester between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one were employed at wages varying from 1s. to 3s. 6d. per week; their employers would pay fifteen or sixteen shillings a week for fodder for their horses." Complaint was made that many hairdressers' assistants of the city had to work sixty-six hours each week for "the paltry sum of 16s. A few are in receipt of a guinea a week, but this is, generally speaking, the maximum wage." It was pointed out that "the commission on sales of articles did not amount to much, being a penny in the shilling, and scarce at that. Assistants often have more deducted from their wages than they earn in commission. In some instances they are fined threepence for being late, and, by a touch of irony, the same amount for turning in without having shaved."

"Women shop assistants (over eighteen years of age) in Birmingham are paid on the average 10s. 6d. a week. In some cases dinner and tea are provided in addition."*

*"Women's Work and Wages" (p. 107). Cadbury and others.

Turning to the workers engaged in the distribution of food and drink, we find here a terrible state of affairs. Throughout the whole of this branch of the distributive service underpayment and sweating are rampant, with scarcely a redeeming feature. The vast majority of the workers are unorganised, and have not, therefore, any control whatever over the conditions of their employment.

Through the kind assistance of a Manchester café worker, a woman trade unionist, we were able, in the early part of 1910, to obtain some useful facts relative to the employment of girls and women in Manchester cafés and restaurants. Our investigator had the utmost difficulty in securing the information, "the girls being frightened of talking about their grievances. Nothing would induce them to think no harm would come of it."

There are some cafés in which a three-shift system is in vogue—a forty-eight, a fifty-four, and a sixty-nine hours week. Wages paid are from 12s. to 15s., and no deductions. "This is considered one of the best systems in Manchester, and the girls seem satisfied. It is no unusual thing for them to remain in their situations, five, six, and eight years."

Perhaps the best café in Manchester, so far as conditions are concerned, is one in which the wages are 12s., and dinner and tea are also provided. Deductions amount to 6d. weekly—1d. for breakages, and 5d. for overalls. A week's holiday each year is given and paid for, and also a day in Whit-week. The hours worked are reasonable, comparatively speaking.

One of the worst cases investigated was that of girls being employed in some cafés in the city

for 94 hours per week at a wage of 7s., or less than a penny per hour.

Several cafés employ girls 11½ hours daily for four days in the week, the fifth day (considered half-holiday) 9 hours, and the sixth day 14 hours, a total of 69 hours. The wages are—kitchen staff, 8s. to 15s.; bar hands, 12s.; and waitresses, 8s., with a commission of 6d. in the pound on their takings.

"In a few other cafés," our investigator says, "I find that the girls have to pay weekly 1s. 6d. for food, 2d. for breakage fund, and 7d. for laundry. These deductions from a wage of 8s. leave very little to live upon. In these places you will see the printed notice, 'no gratuities.' How the girls are expected to live upon the wages given, and to lead moral lives, I cannot understand. *I know of several instances where girls have been forced into immoral living, and I do not fear to say that the shocking wages have been the cause of this.*"

The work itself is of a very trying nature, that of the kitchen staff especially so on account of the heat and steam. Very often the work is done underground, with little or no ventilation. The heaviest time of the year is the winter season, when the football matches and races are held. At such times it is quite common for a girl to turn over £10 in three or four hours. In many cafés girls have to pay up any shortages in charges. "On the whole I think (says our investigator) the café worker's life a hard one. She is an underpaid slave, working under bad conditions, and often under unscrupulous, tyrannical managers and manageresses. I know of one café where the girls are inspected every morning. The manageress examines their

clothing, boots, hands, finger-nails, &c. If they don't come up to her idea of cleanliness, or if a girl wears brown boots, or a skirt which comes below her ankles, she is ordered to take them off, the 'lady' ordering and pouring forth a volley of curses at the same time. This is no unusual thing in Manchester, though I am glad to say that the responsible persons are not Manchester people."

Liverpool waitresses are paid about 7s. per week. Some girls receive 5s. in tips, but a good many make only a few coppers; some none at all. Pantry girls get only 5s. per week, and no tips. The hours are long, and the time for meals ridiculously inadequate.

In Edinburgh tea and luncheon-room waitresses receive at first from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. per week, with food. In some shops the wages of counter hands range from 10s. to 12s., with food, though a head woman may obtain 20s. The wages in one shop amount to 10s., and food is charged at customers' prices, so that the girl has only 4s. after payment, while the return from tips does not average more than from 2s to 3s.*

We have been unable to secure any very detailed information respecting the wages of men and women workers in public houses, but the secretary of the Bar-tenders' Union of Liverpool has on several occasions pointed out in the Press that the brewers of Liverpool and district pay the men engaged in their houses miserably low wages, the average rate being about 3d. per hour. The work is of a most trying kind, often producing serious illness. As

* Scottish Council for Women's Trades, in "Occupations for Girls."

a rule wages are not paid during absence from duty on account of sickness. Such are the conditions imposed by the "trade." If those financially interested in big brewery profits will consider the situation carefully, they need not wonder that the barmen are discontented. All those who have a spark of real humanity in them will join in wishing the barmen every success in their efforts to secure better wages. The "trade" can afford to concede better wages, and it should be made to do so. The community itself should, in its own interest, see to that.

III.

We come last of all to a consideration of the remuneration of co-operative store employés, and here, again, we have ugly facts of underpayment, and, in some instances, at any rate, of sweating. We grant at once that in some stores the wages paid are comparatively good, and worthy of the best traditions of the co-operative movement. In a number of stores the standard of remuneration during the last twenty years has steadily risen step by step; and it would be quite true to say that whatever improvement has taken place in the distributive trades during that period has been almost exclusively confined to the co-operative movement. But there are many stores in which labour is badly treated, and in which practically no improvement has taken place; and one feels, after carefully considering the full facts of the case, that the co-operative store movement as a whole is very little (if any) in advance of the

private trade so far as wages alone are concerned. We know this statement will be challenged ; but let anyone examine the figures set out in this chapter referring to both sections of the distributive trade, and it will be found that our conclusion is correct.

It must be remembered that twenty years ago co-operative store employés were entirely unorganised, and at that time wages were governed exactly on the same principle as obtained in private trade, that is, without any reference to a standard of living. Employés had not collectively set a price on their labour, and, in the absence of any agreement amongst themselves, their wages were at the lowest working level. It was when trade unionism amongst co-operative store workers became an established fact that wages began to take an upward turn. Only by some agreement being arrived at as to the price labour should demand could a way be found out of the chaos that existed at one period.

Much attention has been given in recent years to the subject of profit-sharing with labour. In view of this, and before passing on to a review of wages statistics, we here devote a few pages to an explanation of what is meant by profit-sharing, and how far it is actually practised in co-operative distributive societies.

For many years there have been two schools of thought in the co-operative movement respecting profit-sharing with labour. The one urges that co-operative employés, as employés, ought to participate in the distribution of profits, and the other that they should share profits only as consumers, that is, as ordinary members of the society by which they are

employed. Those societies in which the principle of profit-sharing with employés is recognised are known as copartnership societies; the others as consumers' associations.

In years gone by the leaders of the two schools engaged in much wordy warfare, and many were the exciting scenes witnessed by onlookers at national and local gatherings of co-operators. Much of the bitterness of those times has, however, given place to tolerance and reasonableness, and, although the division is as distinct as ever, very few controversies now take place between the representatives of the two sides. Apparently both have agreed to differ and go their own ways, trusting to education, experience, and the effluxion of time to settle all points of difference. Possibly both believe that the fitter will survive.

Holyoake was, perhaps, the greatest advocate of profit-sharing with employés. To him it was a vital principle, as will be seen from the following passages quoted from his "History of Co-operation":—

> Co-operation . . . is a new power of industry, constituted by the equitable combination of worker, capitalist, and consumer, and a new means of commercial morality by which honesty is rendered productive. It is the concert of many for compassing advantages impossible to be reached by one, in order that the gain made may be fairly shared by all concerned in its attainment.

In developing this idea the late historian used even more definite word. He wrote:—

> There is equality in a co-operative society when the right of every worker is recognised to a share of the common gain, in the proportion to which he contributes to it, in capital, or labour, or trade—by hand or head; and this is the only

> equality which is meant, and there is no complete or successful co-operation where this is not conferred, and aimed at, and secured. . . .
>
> In a properly constituted store the funds are disposed of quarterly in seven ways. The first six provide for management expenses, interest on loans and shares, business development, depreciation, and education grants; *and the seventh for the residue to be divided among all the persons employed and members of the store in proportion to the amount of their wages or of their respective purchases during the quarter.*

This position is supported by a statement in the Constitution of the Co-operative Union. It is cited that the Union was founded "to promote the practice of truthfulness, justice, and economy in production and exchange," by (*inter alia*)—

> Conciliating the conflicting interests of the capitalist, the worker, and the purchaser, through the equitable division among them of the fund commonly known as profit.

It is understood—or supposed to be—that each society applying for admission to the Union is deemed by such application to accept the principle stated in the Constitution as the basis of its business transactions.

It will be obvious from the citations we have made that labour, as labour, is intended to share in profits. It is, of course, sometimes urged that the right of sharing in profits is really claimed for productive workers only—those who can manipulate the raw material, and so vitally affect the economic results of production. But in the Constitution of the Co-operative Union the word "exchange" is used in conjunction with production, and if we apply the rule literally, it means that all

societies affiliated to the Co-operative Union are committed to profit-sharing with both their productive and distributive employés.

An analysis of the statistics relating to retail distributive societies published in the Co-operative Union Report for 1910, gives some idea how far the principle of profit-sharing with employés is actually carried out :—

TABLE IV.

Section (A).	Total No. of Societies in Section.	No. of Societies Paying Bonus on Wages.	Percentage of Bonus-paying Societies to Total.
Irish.....	23	5	21
Midland.....	182	24	13
Northern.....	139	6	4
North-Western.	437	25	6
Scottish.....	275	26	9
Southern.....	202	67	33
South-Western.	79	22	28
Western.....	93	16	17
Totals	1,430	191	13

(A) NOTE.—For purposes of co-operative organisation, the United Kingdom is divided into sections, as named in the statistical table above. The following table shows the geographical divisions:—

Section.	Counties covered by Section.
Irish.....	All in Ireland.
Midland.....	Cambridge (part), Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Northampton, Nottingham, Rutland, Salop, Stafford, Warwick, and part of Worcester.
Northern.....	Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham, Westmorland (part), and North Riding of Yorkshire.
North-Western.	Carnarvon, Chester, Denbigh, Derby, Flint, Lancaster, Stafford, part of Westmorland, York (East and West Ridings), and Isle of Man.

Section.	Counties covered by Section.
Scottish.	All in Scotland.
Southern	Bedford, Berks, Bucks, Cambridge (part), Dorset, Essex, Hants, Herts, Isle of Wight, London, Kent, Middlesex, Oxford, Norfolk, Suffolk, Sussex, and Wilts.
South-Western .	Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset.
Western.	Brecknock, Cardigan, Carmarthen, Glamorgan, Gloucester, Hereford, Monmouth, Montgomery, Pembroke, and part of Worcester.

It will be observed from the foregoing table that only about one-seventh of the co-operative retail distributive societies throughout the United Kingdom practise profit-sharing with their employés. We may take it, therefore, that profit-sharing in this way is not held as a *basic principle* by the overwhelming majority of modern-day co-operators; and consequently the rule of the Co-operative Union Constitution is practically a dead letter.

To Holyoake this was a great disappointment. Shortly before his death in January, 1906, he revised for re-publication his "History of Co-operation." Towards the end of the second volume of this work the historian examined at length the position of some of the largest co-operative stores, and set forth in an interesting fashion what he termed some "curious facts and features." First, he gave a table of statistics relating to twenty-nine of the chief stores, which "shows that twenty-one do not understand that 'participation' is a cardinal principle of co-operation. The honourable exceptions are only eight." Then followed a trenchant criticism of a large northern society that did not

recognise the right of labour to participate in the profits :—

> This society quotes, as testimony to its merits, words by Earl Morley, who distinctly praises it, "that the proceeds of industry are increased" by it, whereas the society does not "increase the proceeds of industry" by one penny. The directors quote also the "Encyclopædia Britannica," which asserts that the "wealth (of the society) is distributed on the principles of equity." But there is no equity where nothing is given to the workers who assist in furthering its welfare. The society further prints as one of its claims to public confidence and respect that it is engaged in "conciliating the conflicting interests of the capitalist, the worker, and the purchaser." Yet during forty-four years it has not accorded sixpence to the worker, but has given everything to the consumer. Certainly the society is not impetuous in acting upon its principles of "equity."
>
> No light so curious, ample, and instructive is thrown upon working-class character as is furnished by the study of "co-operators." Some of them, when they have control of the money of their own order, keep it in their own hands as capitalists do, and exclude their fellow-workmen from participation in the wealth jointly created. The democratic door of co-operation is left open, and no checktaker is stationed there to see that those who enter have co-operative tickets. The public go in without any ticket at all. They are not co-operators who enter, but mere dividend-seekers, who cast votes for themselves alone regardless of the honour of co-operation, whose motto is "Each for all."

Personally, we do not feel much concerned about the non-recognition of the system of profit-sharing. It has too frequently been used as a means of bringing down the rate of wages below the standard. Bonus has often been considered as part of what should be the standard minimum wage, and has, therefore, militated against the successful establishment

of a definite and fixed rate of remuneration. As a matter of fact, only about a score of the two hundred distributive co-operative societies sharing profits with labour are paying trade union rates of wages to all their adult employés.

But the idea, the motive, that lie behind the principle of profit-sharing emphasise the distinctive position of co-operative employés, and the arguments of its exponents effectually bring into relief the idea of the personal aspect of co-operative labour. These are important considerations to those who believe in the principle of co-operation represented by consumers' associations, and they cannot be overlooked without endangering the success of the co-operative movement.

Our work of investigation into the wages paid to co-operative shopworkers was one of great difficulty, and entailed a vast amount of labour. We were faced with the fact that previous researches had been very limited in scope, and the published results too vague to be of any service for our present purposes. We had to rely for data almost entirely upon facts gathered by ourselves as a result of inquiries and personal investigations over a number of years, and upon the figures recorded in periodical returns of branches to the Central Office of the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employés. To Mr. A. Hewitt, the General Secretary of the Union, we are indebted for the loan of the 1907 and 1910 branch returns. These we carefully arranged according to the geographical situation of the societies to which they referred. We then abstracted and systematised the wages rates set out in the returns, and the tables which follow are the outcome :—

TABLE V.

SHOWING RATES OF WAGES OF MALE EMPLOYES OF RETAIL DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

AVERAGE MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM RATES OF WAGES PAID TO MALE GROCERY SHOP MANAGERS AND ASSISTANTS, TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, EMPLOYED BY CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN THE UNDERMENTIONED DISTRICTS AT THE BEGINNING OF 1907.

District, County, or Counties.	SHOP MANAGERS.				SHOP ASSISTANTS.			
	No. of Societies.	Average of Minimum Rates.	No. of Societies.	Average of Maximum Rates.	No. of Societies.	Average of Minimum Rates.	No. of Societies.	Average of Maximum Rates.
		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.
Lancashire and Cheshire	53	29 6	51	35 6	53	23 3	53	26 9
Durham, Northumberland, and Cumberland	45	34 8	45	42 7	52	23 6	54	30 11
Yorkshire	21	28 8	19	35 8	25	22 5	22	26 9
Notts, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, and Northants.	19	28 7	18	36 0	15	23 2	16	26 10
Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, and Shropshire	9	27 7	8	32 8	7	23 1	7	25 5
Southern and South-Western Counties	20	31 3	21	37 4	27	22 9	27	27 7
All Districts	167	30 10	162	37 8	179	23 2	179	28 1

TABLE VI.

RATE OF WAGES OF MALE EMPLOYES OF RETAIL DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES IN GREAT BRITAIN. AVERAGE MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM RATES OF WAGES PAID TO MALE SHOP MANAGERS AND ASSISTANTS TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, EMPLOYED BY CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN THE UNDERMENTIONED DISTRICTS AT THE BEGINNING OF 1910.*

District, County, or Counties.	GROCERY DEPARTMENTS.							
	Shop Managers.				Shop Assistants.			
	No. of Societies.	Average of Minimum Rates.	No. of Societies.	Average of Maximum Rates.	No. of Societies.	Average of Minimum Rates.	No of Societies.	Average of Maximum Rates.
		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.
Lancashire and Cheshire	50	30 5	43	36 0	48	23 10	41	27 7
Durham, Northumberland, and Cumberland	36	35 5	39	41 8	42	25 0	41	31 8
Yorkshire	32	30 0	28	36 0	39	24 4	33	27 7
Notts, Derby, Leicester, Northants, Staffordshire, Warwick, Worcester, Shropshire.....	24	29 10	18	36 6	22	23 10	18	27 8
Southern and South-Western Counties	32	31 10	27	43 0	37	23 11	32	27 9
Scotland	21	32 6	21	38 10	22	23 9	21	28 11
All Districts	195	31 8	176	38 3	210	24 2	186	28 8

* The Tables upon which this Summary is based will be found in Appendix I.

TABLE VI.—*Continued.*

RATES OF WAGES OF MALE EMPLOYES OF RETAIL DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES IN GREAT BRITAIN. AVERAGE MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM RATES OF WAGES PAID TO MALE SHOP MANAGERS AND ASSISTANTS TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, EMPLOYED BY CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN THE UNDERMENTIONED DISTRICTS AT THE BEGINNING OF 1910.*

District, County, or Counties.	BOOTS, DRAPERY, CLOTHING, AND FURNISHING DEPARTMENTS.							
	Shop Managers.				Shop Assistants.			
	No. of Societies	Average of Minimum Rates.	No. of Societies	Average of Maximum Rates	No. of Societies	Average of Minimum Rates	No. of Societies	Average of Maximum Rates
		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.
Lancashire and Cheshire....	19	29 6	17	32 6	32	24 7	26	29 0
Durham, Northumberland, and Cumberland	21	32 0	21	38 1	27	25 7	28	30 1
Yorkshire	12	30 2	9	31 3	13	23 8	13	28 11
Notts, Derby, Leicester, Northants, Staffordshire, Warwick, Worcester, Shropshire	6	30 10	4	32 0	6	25 4	6	28 8
Southern and South-Western Counties	16	30 6	18	35 4	12	24 5	12	30 8
Scotland	10	32 6	11	35 4	10	25 0	10	28 9
All Districts.....	84	30 10	80	34 10	100	24 10	95	29 7

TABLE VI.—*Continued.*

District, County, or Counties.	BUTCHERY DEPARTMENTS.							
	Shop Managers.				Shop Assistants.			
	No. of Societies	Average of Minimum Rates	No. of Societies	Average of Maximum Rates	No of Societies	Average of Minimum Rates	No. of Societies	Average of Maximum Rates
		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.
Lancashire and Cheshire....	25	26 9	21	31 3	14	24 7	11	26 5
Durham, Northumberland, and Cumberland	16	33 9	17	38 0	34	27 2	35	31 6
Yorkshire	14	27 4	15	31 7	18	24 6	17	26 8
Notts, Derby, Leicester, Northants, Staffordshire, Warwick, Worcester, Shropshire	4	28 6	4	32 7	6	23 0	5	28 0
Southern and South-Western Counties	11	31 6	11	34 6	12	25 2	11	27 8
Scotland	10	30 2	12	33 8	16	25 1	16	30 7
All Districts	80	29 5	80	33 7	100	25 6	95	29 3

* The Tables upon which this Summary is based will be found in Appendix I.

It was thought at the outset that the Wages Table given on page 245 of the first edition of "Industrial Co-operation," the Co-operative Union text-book (edited by Miss C. Webb), would be a useful one for comparative purposes, but later it was found that the figures appeared to be arrived at by a method different from our own, and as there were no published details showing how Miss Webb's table was made up, we could not make use of it.

It will be seen that the 1907 table deals only with adult workers employed in grocery shops, whilst that for 1910 deals also with workers in other departments.

A comparison of the figures for the two years relating to wages of employés in grocery departments reveals the fact that, except in one instance, all the average rates had risen in the three years between 1907 and 1910. The one exception was that of the average maximum for shop managers in Durham, Northumberland, and Cumberland, which dropped from 42s. 7d. in 1907 to 41s. 8d. in 1910. The advances are not very great, the only one of any note being that of the Southern Counties average maximum for shop managers, which progressed from 37s. 4d. to 43s., a rise of 5s. 8d. Taking the whole country (including Scotland in the 1910 figures) we find that the average minimum rate for grocery shop managers increased by 10d., from 30s. 10d. to 31s. 8d.; and the average maximum rate by 7d., from 37s. 8d. to 38s. 3d. The average minimum rate for adult grocery shop assistants increased by 1s., from 23s. 2d. to 24s. 2d.; and the average maximum rate by 7d., from 28s. 1d. to 28s. 8d. On examining our detailed wages sheets for 1907 we find that

in 56 out of 167 societies the minimum rate for grocery shop managers fell below 30s.; and in 59 out of 179 societies the minimum rate for adult grocery assistants fell below 24s. In 1910, in 36 out of 195 societies the minimum rate for grocery shop managers fell below 30s.; and in 29 out of 210 societies the minimum rate for adult grocery assistants fell below 24s. Thus it will be seen that a great improvement has taken place so far as bottom rates are concerned. There is reason to think, however, that this lifting of the bottom rates has to some extent adversely affected the raising of the average middle rates; that is to say, whilst societies have been lifting the wages of the worst-paid grocery managers and assistants to 30s. and 24s. respectively, workers already in receipt of those or higher wages made little progress. In some few instances there appears to be a tendency to regard certain minimum rates as standard rates. This takes place not only in the case of "flat" minima, but also where graded scales of wages (according to age) are in operation.

So much for comparative figures.

It is instructive to note other features of the table for 1910—referring to wages in the butchering and the clothing and allied trades. The minimum rates for butchering shop managers fell below 30s. in 33 societies out of 80, and the minimum for adult butchering assistants fell below 24s. in 9 societies out of 100. In the boots, drapery, clothing, and furnishing departments of 23 societies out of 84 the minimum for shop managers fell below 30s.; and the minimum for adult assistants fell short of 24s. in 16 out of 100 societies.

The final result disclosed in the last line of

the 1910 table is that the average wage of grocery shop managers falls somewhere between 31s. 8d. and 38s. 3d.; that of butchering shop managers between 29s. 5d. and 33s. 7d.; and that of boots, drapery, clothing, and furnishing shop managers between 30s. 10d. and 34s. 10d. The average wage of adult assistants in the three classes of trade in the order named is between 24s. 2d. and 28s. 8d., 25s. 6d. and 29s. 3d., 24s. 10d. and 29s. 7d.

The above figures are descriptive chiefly of the position of the organised and best-paid co-operative shopworkers. We have frequently had brought to our notice cases of men receiving no more and much less than £1 per week. In one particular store, the first assistant, a young man 21 years of age, received 17s. a week; a provision assistant of the same age, 16s.; and a grocery assistant 18 years of age, 10s. Other cases of the same kind could be quoted, but space will not allow. In some stores 21s. is considered (by the board of management) to be a good wage for a young man of 21 or thereabouts. In other societies it is quite a common thing to pay £1 a week to fully-qualified assistants, and if 24s. is demanded at 21 years of age, the assistant is quietly got rid of as occasion serves.

We next deal with the position of girls and women as wage-earners in co-operative stores, and we may as well say at once that underpayment could not be more glaring than in the case of this, the weaker sex. The conditions of co-operative female workers in many instances constitute sweating, and call for most urgent attention and reform. Sweating is abominable in any shop, but in a co-operative

store it is doubly so. So much is claimed by co-operators as employers that many people believe workers in stores to be quite outside the circle of sweating. It would give us real pleasure to share that belief. But we cannot. Our experience is that co-operators in very few cases pay women and girls engaged in distribution a real living wage. As we write we have before us an advertisement which recently appeared in the *Co-operative News*. It reads: "Wanted, a Young Woman for drapery, boots and shoes, and, if needed, to assist on grocery side; commencing wages, 12s. per week.—Apply, with references, to ——— Co-operative Society." Here is work which calls for all-round ability, yet the wages offered to a woman for doing the work are at least 50 per cent. less than what would be paid to a man. The net working hours of the advertising society are 56½ per week, so that the time value of the wages offered works out at about 2½d. per hour.

In December, 1909, there appeared in one of the Glasgow newspapers, an advertisement for a young lady to manage a co-operative grocery and drapery shop, the trade of which was £95 per week. The wages offered for such a responsible position were only 19s. per week.

In the drapery department of a society in Lancashire a young woman of eighteen had been employed for four years. She was a good saleswoman, honest, and well liked by customers. She received 2s. per week wages to commence; in the third year, 5s.; and at the end of four years' service only 6s.

Another bad case was recently brought to light. Three young women were employed in a

co-operative grocery shop, with a trade of £80 to £100 a week. The manageress was paid 15s., and the other two less than 10s. each.

One of the worst instances of gross underpayment of which we have heard was carefully inquired into by one of the present writers. Of nine females employed in the drapery department of a southern society, three received wages of 1s. per week, two 3s., and one 5s. The ages of these were 15, 16, 17, and 18 years. After two years' service, two girls were receiving 3s. per week. The girls and women in other departments were also badly paid.

Several other societies in the near vicinity treated their women employés in a similar manner. A young woman of eighteen years of age, engaged in the millinery department of one of these societies, commenced work with a weekly wage of two shillings, and at the time of inquiry her wages amounted to only four shillings per week.

The practice of engaging young girls as apprentices to the drapery, millinery, and dressmaking businesses without any wages at all being paid, is common in some co-operative societies; and there are a few societies, to our knowledge, in which girls entering the millinery and dressmaking trades have to pay a premium every quarter in order to be trained in their business, and in a short time are turned adrift to make room for other apprentices.

Many other cases similar to those outlined above could be cited. It is, however, our desire not to tire the reader, and so we pass on to a more general statement of the wages paid to females. This is contained in the following table :—

TABLE VII.

RATES OF WAGES OF FEMALE EMPLOYES OF RETAIL DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES IN GREAT BRITAIN. AVERAGE MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM RATES OF WAGES PAID TO FEMALE SHOPWORKERS OVER AND UNDER TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE EMPLOYED BY CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN THE UNDER-MENTIONED DISTRICTS AT THE BEGINNING OF 1910.*

District, County, or Counties.	DRAPERY, MILLINERY, DRESSMAKING, AND BOOT DEPTS.							
	Manageresses and Assistants, 21 years of age and over.				Under 21 years of age.			
	No. of Societies.	Average of Minimum Rates.	No. of Societies.	Average of Maximum Rates.	No. of Societies.	Average of Minimum Rates.	No. of Societies.	Average of Maximum Rates.
		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.
Lancashire and Cheshire	26	18 9	27	23 5	16	6 6	10	12 7
Northumberland, Durham, and Cumberland	26	13 10	31	20 9	11	7 0	9	11 0
Yorkshire	19	16 9	16	21 4	8	5 1	5	11 2
Notts, Derby, Leicester, Northants, Staffordshire, Warwick, and Shropshire	15	14 11	15	18 0	4	6 3	2	11 0
Southern and South-Western Counties	23	15 9	29	20 11	18	6 0	14	11 3
Scotland	17	14 5	17	19 11	6	9 4	5	11 7
Averages: All Districts	126	15 10	135	21 0	63	6 6	45	11 6

* The Tables upon which this Summary is based will be found in Appendix II.

The minimum rate for women twenty-one years of age and over, it will be seen, is the lowest in Northumberland, Durham, and Cumberland; whilst, on the contrary, men are better paid in those counties than in other parts of the country.

The reader will see on reference to the tables of females' wages in Appendix II., that in a number of cases women over twenty-one years of age are in receipt of rates as low as 7s., 8s., 9s., 10s., and 11s. per week; and when we reflect upon the fact that in the tables manageresses' rates are included as well as those of assistants, the under-payment of co-operative women workers is even more obvious. It is customary to pay girls and women less than boys and men. The reason in many cases is purely one of sex differentiation, and the value of the service performed is not taken into account at all in calculating the wages payable. At present, most women workers themselves seem to take it for granted that they ought to receive less pay than men. It is absolutely necessary that this idea shall be combated and women taught to place a greater economic value upon their labour. This, of course, can only be done by trade union organisation and education. It is well to note that whatever improvements in women's wages in the co-operative movement have taken place during the last few years have been almost entirely due to organisation. The essential point to notice is that without the pressure which trade unionism exerts on co-operative management, wages are governed almost completely by competition, and tend to the lowest possible level.

In this sketch of the wages of distributive workers, we have endeavoured to lighten the subject matter as much as possible. This was difficult, because wages rates can only be expressed by figures, and many figures soon tire most readers. Those who would like, however, to get a full knowledge of the subject dealt with here, must study carefully the tables in Appendices I. and II. in conjunction with this Chapter.

CHAPTER III.

HOURS OF LABOUR.

I.—Note on Overwork—Apathy of Public—Overwork against Public Interest—Historical Notes—Shopworkers Passive Victims of Long Hours—Lack of Organisation Responsible.

II.—Statistical Evidence—General Statement—Press Revelations—A London Investigation—Startling Tales of Shop Life in the Metropolis—Sunday Work—Woman's Burden—Hours in Blackpool and Other Places—Chemists' Assistants' Hours—Position in South Wales and Ireland—A Court Case—Hairdressers' and Pawnbrokers' Hours.

III.—Co-operative Stores—Statement and Comparative Figures for 1893 and 1909—Geographical Analysis.

IV.—The "Trade"—Bar-Tenders' Excessive Hours—Barmaids' Hard Lives.

V.—Appalling Effects of Overwork on Health—Lack of Ventilation in Shops—Medical Evidence regarding Excessive Confinement—Consumption as an Occupational Disease—Up-to-date Investigations and Comparisons—Conclusion.

I.

THAT there is need for a great reduction in the hours of labour of our working people is beyond question. Some classes of workers toil incessantly from early morn till late at night, literally wearing themselves out in creating wealth for those who, as a rule, perform little or no useful social service. Men and women lose their real manhood and womanhood by the disastrous operation of long and

arduous toil; they become mere machines, grinding out profits for their overlords. And the pity of it all is that the public generally takes such little account of these things unless organised agitation takes place. This was one of Ruskin's complaints. "I am not one (he said) who in the least doubts or disputes the progress of this (the 19th) century in many things useful to mankind; but it seems to me a very dark sign respecting us that we look with so much indifference upon dishonesty and cruelty in the pursuit of wealth." Many of the general public are ever ready to weep copious tears over the imaginary sorrows of the drama, but grudge a single sigh or tear to the real and substantial wretchedness of the unhappy in everyday life. The recital of the grievances of railwaymen, barmen, waitresses, shop assistants, and other hardly-worked men and women evokes but little sympathy. This is a matter of regret to all those who believe in the worth and dignity of human life. The stress and strain of overwork, and the terrible evils resulting therefrom, affect not merely those who directly suffer thereby, but to a very large and increasing degree the physical, moral, and intellectual welfare of the community at large. For this reason any stand against overwork is one in which the public, for its own sake, should side with the worker.

Perhaps there is no other class—unless it be the super-sweated homeworkers—whose hours of labour are more protracted than those of shop assistants, including also in the scope of that term, waitresses, barmen, and barmaids; and probably no class more bereft of legal protection.

A hundred years ago, we are told,* "the English artisan commonly worked for about seventy-two hours per week. This was a reduction from 1747, when in London, at any rate, the bulk of the men worked nearer seventy-five or eighty hours." Since the dates referred to there has been a steady decline in the number of working hours in most trades, and the general average to-day will probably fall somewhere between fifty-six and sixty hours.

Shop assistants, however, have had comparatively little share in this reduction of the hours of toil. They stand to-day, as we shall presently show, in much the same position as the artisan of a century or more ago. The artisan has progressed; the shop assistant has stood still. To some extent it appears to be true that work in shops is one of those occupations in which the progress of the nation and the tremendous growth of town and city life have directly tended to prolong the hours of labour. Sidney Webb has reminded us † "that seventy years ago artificial lighting was neither so good nor so cheap as it has now become, and the day could not so easily be lengthened. In 1837, there were comparatively few theatres or other places of evening entertainment, and, especially in provincial towns, folks stayed in after dark and went to bed early. Abundant gas and cheap plate glass have probably lengthened the hours of shop assistants, just as the increase of evening amusements has lengthened those of barmaids, tramway servants, omnibus men, and cabmen."

* "Labour in the Longest Reign" (p. 13). Sidney Webb.

† "Labour in the Longest Reign" (p. 14).

It is not for want of complaint that shop assistants find themselves left behind by other classes of workers. Their grievances have been aired pretty freely. The public have frequently heard the plaintive cries of overworked shop assistants. Committees of both Houses of Parliament have spent much time in listening to the evidence regarding the long working day in shops and the terrible evils resulting therefrom, evidence which, without doubt, forms a great indictment against employers and public alike.

But the discontent of the general body of shop workers with their lot has scarcely ever got beyond the stage of verbal expression. It has never yet developed into anything like open revolt. Ruskin, in that precise way of his, said there were two forms of discontent: one laborious, the other indolent and complaining. It is the second form of discontent that characterises shop assistants. Had their discontent been of a laborious nature, had it developed into organised revolt, we should not hear of their hours of labour extending, as they often do, to more than a hundred per week. It is the lack of organisation, chiefly, that has kept and is still keeping shop assistants chained to the counter almost day and night, the slaves of every other class.

II.

A vast amount of evidence regarding long hours of labour in shops has been collected from time to time by interested investigators, and if we were to attempt to set down all the statistics and information at our disposal

we should be able to fill several volumes. That is not our intention. We desire to record here, so far as we are able, a concise statement of the main general facts, with some account of the varying conditions in different classes of the retail trade.

Employment in shops has been divided roughly into three classes :— *

In the *first class* are the shops nominally closing in the evening at 6-30 to 7 p.m. and on Saturdays at 2 p.m., averaging an actual working week of from 60 to 65 hours, including overtime worked after the shop is supposed to be closed.†

In the *second class* of shops the nominal hours extend to 8 and 8-30 p.m. for four nights, one day closing at 2 or 4 p.m., and one night at 9 or 10 p.m., averaging an actual working week of 69 to 74 hours.

In the *third class* the closing hour may be any time from 8-30 to 9-30 p.m. on three nights, there may or may not be an early closing day at 2 or 5 p.m., there certainly will be one or two nights when the shops are open till 11 or 12 p.m., and the working week extends from 75 to 85 hours. Among this class of shops Sunday trading is on the increase.

This division, as already indicated, is an approximate one, as in the majority of co-operative stores the actual working week is

* Shop Assistants' Union Circular, April, 1908.

† Systematic overtime appears to have become fairly general. Mr. W. C. Anderson, in a pamphlet ("The Servitude of the Shop"), quoting from statistics compiled by Miss Margaret Boudfield, stated: "I find that among 2,179 assistants employed in forty-six shops, some 9,072 hours of overtime are collectively worked each week, without the slightest remuneration."

less than 60 hours, whilst, on the other hand, there are a large number of shops in which the hours of labour exceed 85 per week. Still, for practical purposes, the figures given in the three classes sum up the average state of affairs.

The Press from time to time reveals some startling details of the hard life of shopworkers. A bad case, reported some time ago, was inquired into by the East London Coroner, with reference to the death of an oil-shop manager, twenty-nine years of age. The evidence submitted showed that the deceased worked from 8-30 a.m. until 11-30 p.m. every night, except Saturday, when he finished at 12-15 midnight. He worked ninety hours a week for 15s., which was at the rate of 2d. per hour. A medical officer stated that in his opinion the death of the shopman was due to heart failure accelerated by long hours and hard work.

Towards the end of 1909, Mr. T. Spencer Jones, editor of *The Shop Assistant,* conducted a personal investigation into the conditions of shop life in London, the results of which were afterwards published in the journal just mentioned, under the title of "The Bottom Dogs of London Shopdom."

The facts recorded by Mr. Jones prove conclusively that a very large number of assistants in London labour practically all their waking hours on five and six days of the week, and, in many cases, Sunday labour constitutes an additional physical burden to be borne by the already cruelly overworked assistants. As instances, we here quote a few typical cases. One is that of a drapery shop in which about thirty assistants, mostly girls, were employed. "The girls left off work about

10 p.m. three nights in the week, 2 p.m. on Thursdays, about 11 p.m. on Fridays, and midnight on Saturdays. They were herded at night into a dilapidated house in one of the neighbouring mean and dirty streets, and although they seldom left the shop before 10 o'clock at night, they were compelled to be in the dormitory not later than eleven o'clock." In the same street Mr. Jones conversed with an outfitting and hosiery shop assistant, who stated that his hours were from nine in the morning until about eleven o'clock every night in the week, and that he seldom reached home before two o'clock on Sunday morning.

Referring to life in the lowest depths of London shopdom, Mr. Jones writes: "Most of the small shops in every trade are overcrowded hutches in which the gas is burning the best part of the day. I have seen young men and young women at work in these places at 10 and 11 o'clock at night, and the only rest they have is a half-holiday once a week or once a fortnight, starting at 2, 3, or 4 o'clock. They learn nothing, they see nothing of the glories of London. They might as well be in the Australian bush as in the greatest city in the world for what is added to their life."

Mr. Jones emphasises the fact that it is a common error to suppose the worst conditions in London shop life are confined to the East End; the hours are quite as long in south and south-western London, and in the northern and western districts. "It is," he says, "perfectly safe to make the general statement that the week's work of the average shop assistant in London, outside the charmed circle of the West End, is as follows:—From 8 or 8-30 a.m. to

9 to 9-30 p.m. on ordinary nights; a half-holiday commencing at 2; Saturday, 8 or 8-30 a.m. to 12 or 12-30 at night."

Several grocery firms arrange with their managers to keep shops open from 8 in the morning till 10 at night, and on Saturday until midnight; whilst over two hundred managers employed by a firm of tobacconists work 91 hours a week. In each of these two cases the managers take all their meals in the shop and are not allowed to leave it from opening until closing time.

It has been estimated that in London about 18,000 to 20,000 females are employed serving in confectionery shops, 90 per cent. of whom work from 7 in the morning until 10 at night five days in the week, and until 12 and 12-30 on Saturdays, or 90 hours a week.

"A very considerable number of butchers' and provision assistants," says Mr. Jones, "work five days a week from 7 in the morning until 10 at night, and until mid-day on Sunday, with a half-day off once a week. Many attempts have been made from time to time to reduce Sunday trading to the minimum consistent with the exigencies of necessity, but the fact remains that there are 24,000 shops open every Sunday in London"

What chiefly impressed Mr. Jones during conversations with assistants was their apparent indifference to their lot, and to any organised efforts to improve their prospects. Some of them had not heard of the Shops Bill being introduced into Parliament, and had but a vague idea of the existence of a shop assistants' trade union. "'I get no time to read the papers,' one young man frankly confessed. 'Think of it.

Here I am at work from 8 in the morning until 10 and sometimes 12 at night; no half-holiday. I live seven miles from this spot, and am glad to get to bed as soon as I arrive home.' "

According to recent investigations women shop assistants in some trades are subject to longer hours of labour than those of men. So far as our own inquiries are concerned, we find it an undoubted fact that the members of the weaker sex have the heavier burden to bear. Of considerable interest is the evidence respecting women given by Miss Irwin, secretary of the Scottish Council for Women's Trades, before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Early Closing of Shops, in 1901. She found in Glasgow, as we have found in other large towns, that dairies, restaurants, fruiterers', confectioners', newsagents', tobacconists' and ice cream shops, and in some cases bakers' and drapers' shops, are open from 8-30 a.m. to 11 p.m. The hours worked appear to be greatest in confectioners' shops. For instance, we find in Manchester girls placed in charge of confectionery shops, owned by a large firm, employed for seven days in the week as follows :— Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, 9 a.m. to 10-30 p.m.; Saturday, 9 a.m. to 12 p.m.; Sunday, 11 a.m. to 11 p.m., making a gross working week of 94½ hours. These girls bring their meals with them to the shops, as they are not allowed to leave the premises. The time to eat their food depends upon the trade done, and if the customers are numerous the meals are snatched between serving them. Providing they are able to get 1½ hours per day for meal-times, the net working week amounts to 84 hours. Miss Irwin stated in her

evidence that "a Glasgow restaurant opened from 7-30 in the morning until 11 at night, and occasionally the working week of the waitresses would rise to 102 hours per week."

Along with the confectionery and restaurant businesses, the bazaars and tobacconists' shops are great sinners in this respect. On railway stations, seaside promenades, theatre kiosks, and busy streets they are generally managed by women, and it is astonishing to see when all other shops are closed (in which both males and females are employed) those where only women are employed are open many hours later. The evil of confinement for long hours is aggravated by the rule in force in some establishments that the assistants must not lean against the walls or on the counter, even when they have no customers to serve.

To emphasise the bad conditions of women assistants it is worth while referring again to Miss Irwin's evidence: "There were several cases of shops where only one saleswoman was employed; she was unable to leave the shop for meals during the whole time she was on duty. This might involve a stretch of from 14 to 17 hours per day. In many cases the whole accommodation of the shop consisted of the front shop and a back room, used chiefly for storing purposes." Another case related in the same evidence was given as follows:—"In a tobacconist's shop visited, the hours were from 8-30 a.m. to 11 p.m., and on Saturdays to 12 p.m., Sundays 9 a.m. to 10 p.m., being 14½ hours five days per week, 15½ hours one day, and 13 hours one day; total for the week, 101 hours."

In a letter to the *Blackpool Times* in the

summer of 1908 a correspondent wrote :—" I have heard of a shop in Church-street where the poor, miserably-paid girls have to work 91½ hours per week, with an hour a day off for dinner, and a short stop for tea, which they must bring with them, and no seating accommodation is provided for them. It seems so incredible that I should like to have it verified. If you would kindly insert this letter in an early issue, some of your readers may be able to help me to find out which shop it is."

The writer of the foregoing letter seems to be astounded that the facts narrated can possibly exist in Blackpool. But if he made an investigation in any seaside resort he would find these hours are quite common in some classes of shops. And what is true of seaside resorts is true also of most populous districts everywhere. Blackpool being the most popular seaside resort of the Lancashire people and most extensively patronised by the public generally, it is well to note exactly the penalty paid by the shop assistants of the town for the frivolity of the millions of trippers. In the early part of 1910, we made inquiries and found that the following are the shop hours in the various classes of trade in Blackpool :—

Boot and shoe and drapery shops winter hours :—9 a.m. to 8 p.m. three days per week ; 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. one day ; 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. one day ; 9 a.m. to 11 p.m. Saturday ; making 62 nominal working hours. We were informed that the overtime worked would probably amount to the number of hours given for meal-times, so that the actual net working week exceeds 60 hours.

Grocery shops winter hours :—8 a.m. to

9 p.m. three days per week; 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. one day; 8 a.m. to 10 p.m. one day; 8 a.m. to 11-30 p.m. Saturday. Thus the nominal working week is 73½ hours; providing the assistants get the usual 9½ hours per week for meals (which is not always the case) the net working week, excluding overtime, is 64 hours.

Confectionery and tobacconists' shops winter hours:—9 a.m. to 10 p.m. three days per week; 9 a.m. to 11 p.m. two days; 9 a.m. to 12 p.m. Saturday. These figures apply mostly to lock-up shops. Those in charge are chiefly females, and they eat their meals in the shop. They are, therefore, confined to the shop 82 hours weekly.

The real meaning of long hours may be better grasped from a statement of the hours worked at Blackpool in the summer months. The confectionery and tobacconists' shops hardly ever close, especially where the owners live on the premises. Sunday is one of the busiest and longest days for these trades. Arrangements are made for the assistants to get a few hours off in turn, but this is not a regular custom, and it is quite common for the assistants to work over 100 hours per week. The summer hours in drapery, boot and shoe, and grocery shops are:—7-30 a.m. to 10 p.m. four days of the week; 7-30 a.m. to 11 p.m. one day; 7 a.m. to 12 p.m. Saturday; total, 90½ hours per week. During "sale" times extra hours are worked, and in some grocery shops assistants work three to four hours extra on Sunday, "cleaning down." The very best class of drapery and boot and shoe shops close down on one day at 5 o'clock. These are, however, in the minority. The most glaring and outrageous instances of long hours

are to be found in the bazaars, auction marts, fruit, fish and chips, and ice cream shops. Although Blackpool may be a splendid health resort for visitors, it must be a veritable death-trap to many of its shop assistants.

A short time ago a letter appeared in the correspondence columns of a weekly paper* to the effect that a confectioner in Guildford employed a manageress and a girl assistant in a shop from 8-30 a.m. to 9 p.m. five days in the week, and until 11 p.m. on Saturdays.

To the same journal another writer complained that "the assistants in Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire work very long hours. In one country town they start work at 6 a.m., go to breakfast at 8-30, to dinner at 10-30, and tea at 2-30, closing time, 9-30. Work is often continued until 11 p.m." The correspondent in this case attributes the long hours to bad management, and states that many large firms with branches in country towns do not know the conditions which prevail in the branch shops.

Mr. Charles Booth some time ago tabulated a list of particulars regarding 770 adult men employed in London as assistant grocers, oil and colourmen, and found that their average hours per week amounted to 80.

Complaint was made recently that the evil of late shopping on Saturday nights appeared to be on the increase in Sunderland. We have been told that "in the west end of the town it is quite a common sight to see scores of shops open till midnight, and not a few of the shopkeepers keep their assistants until the early

* *Shop Assistant*, February 5th, 1910.

hours of Sunday morning. It is quite a common sight to see boys and girls trudging home tired out with the long day behind the counter."

The effect of the coolness of the ordinary shop assistant and the acceptance by him of bad conditions spreads into the best classes of shops and works detrimentally upon those occupations that have lent more freedom than is enjoyed by grocers, outfitters, and others. It was understood a few years ago that the pharmacists, druggists, and others employed in the distribution of medicine, stood on a higher level in respect to conditions of labour than shop workers generally, and a distinct cleavage has always existed between the two classes. But the introduction of the joint-stock company system into the medicinal and proprietary articles businesses has reduced them to a very low status, so far as their working hours are concerned. In a letter to the *Shop Assistant*, on December 18th, 1909, a correspondent writes as follows regarding chemists' assistants' hours :—" At the present moment there are in Edinburgh at least 60 young men who start work at 8-30 or 9 o'clock in the morning, have 1½ hours of a break for dinner, then work till 8 p.m. After that they go to classes, which start at 8-30 p.m. and continue till 11 p.m. This makes a working day of 14½ hours. These classes usually meet four nights a week, Wednesday being the free night ; this is supposed to be employed by reading up one's lectures. On Saturday the shop is later in shutting, and Sunday is just a working day, because one has to prepare one's work some time if the minor examination is to be passed at all. Two years is about the average period

spent at classes before the budding pharmacist attempts the qualifying examination, then 66⅔ per cent. fail (Pharmaceutical Society's own statistics), and the masters wonder. If confirmation of these statements is wanted let any reader go to the School of Pharmacy, Clyde-street, or the Dispensary, West Richmond-street, where he will find a collection of weary young men only too pleased to corroborate these facts. After this, a policeman's lot is a happy one."

It seems almost incredible that young men who must possess a certain amount of knowledge in medicine, their ability tested by difficult examinations, should be subjected to such inconsiderate treatment as is outlined in the foregoing letter. It is gratifying to see they are awakening to a sense of their wrongs, and a keen desire for reform developing amongst them. Their work of organisation will be keenly watched, and will, undoubtedly, provide an interesting chapter in the history of shop-life reform.

It has come under our observation that in the mining districts of South Wales, where the majority of the workers enjoy a legal eight hours day, shop assistants have to work in many cases three days per week from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m., one day from 8 a.m. to 1-30 p.m., one day from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m., and Saturday from 8 a.m. to midnight. Goods are often delivered from the shops in these districts in the early part of Sunday morning. The question has several times taken a religious turn; sermons have been preached thereon from scores of pulpits, so far without avail.

Turning to Ireland, we are informed by a

reliable authority* that the hours of opening and closing in drapery, furnishing, hardware, outfitting, boots, stationery, and fancy goods establishments are: In the large shops, 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. on six days per week, although the average time of actually leaving off work is between 6-30 and 7 p.m.; in the medium and small shops from 8 and 8-30 a.m. to 7, 7-30, 8 and 8-30 p.m., and sometimes 9 p.m., on the five days of the week, and on Saturday the closing hours generally observed in the latter shops are from 10 p.m. to 12 midnight. The time allowed for meals where the employés board in the shop is half-an-hour for dinner and twenty minutes for tea. The working hours in the Emerald Isle are not greatly different from those in other parts of the United Kingdom. It is but fair to state, however, that in the matter of Sunday trading Ireland compares more favourably, this being practically confined to some of the smaller drapery shops in the poorer districts.

Of considerable importance to shop assistants was the case brought before the Westminster Court in September, 1909, when a well-known large London firm were proceeded against by the London County Council. Twelve summonses were issued under the Shop Hours Act and the Shop Assistants' Act. The legal representative of the County Council proved that whereas the legal hours of labour for boys and girls in shops were limited to 74 per week, the firm had employed young persons from 79 to 94 hours per week. The lady inspector

* Mr. M. J. O'Lehane (Secretary, Irish Drapers' Assistants' Association).

who visited the shops obtained signed statements from eleven young persons as to the hours they worked, and evidence to the same effect was given at the court by nine young assistants, male and female, of 15 and 16 years of age. The lady inspector stated also that she had called for several years at the establishment, and had complained of the absence of seats as provided by law, but her complaints had not received any attention whatever. The magistrate (Mr. Horace Smith) did not under-estimate the gravity of the case. He said: "The curious thing is that even in a case like this the penalty is limited to £3. That is what I could fine a small shopkeeper, and it is a curious limitation dealing with great concerns like this—a most inadequate penalty—unless I can fine them £3 for each seat omitted after these repeated warnings." Ultimately, he decided to fine the firm the full penalty of £3, and two guineas costs on that summons, and 10s. each on the other cases—nine in all. The facts cited in this case, as in many others, show that the nominal shop hours of opening and closing are no indication of the actual hours of labour, for the firm's stated hours are 8-30 a.m. to 6-30 p.m. In the evidence given by the managing director before the Truck Committee, it was stated that the firm employed between 4,000 and 5,000 persons, including a large proportion of females and young people. If all these assistants, even at certain periods only, have to undergo the same treatment as that borne by those referred to in the case brought before the Court, we may realise the gravity of the situation.

A short time ago a writer to the *Hull Daily Mail*, who had a record of thirty years' service

behind the counter, stated that "the great majority of shop assistants in Hull are comprised of young women and girls, or young men with no responsibilities, and their apathy is easily explained by the fact that they are afraid to offer any protest or to be identified with the organisation that deals with earlier closing for fear of dismissal." He further stated that he knew of "shops in Hull where they turn out pale-faced, weary, and footsore young girls every night at close upon 9-30 and 10 p.m., and on Saturday night at a quarter to twelve, week in, week out."

A growing class of shopworkers — hairdressers' assistants—are very much overworked. In Manchester we found, from investigations made, that many male assistants work 11 hours a day six days per week. We were informed that few assistants in the town have more than a quarter-of-an-hour for dinner and tea, and, in the heart of the city, some assistants have to eat their meals in the coal cellar. This is probably an extreme case, though we can readily understand that the accommodation of many establishments situated in the basements of large buildings must, of necessity, be very limited.

Another section of shopworkers who seem to be somewhat isolated and to have their own method of working and living are the pawnbrokers' assistants. They are generally kept at the counter for many hours at a stretch, and their work is of a unique character. Pawnbrokers at one time were known as persons who lent money on goods, in order that people temporarily embarrassed for want of money might be helped through their difficulties. The

pawnbrokers of to-day do this business. But they do something more. They now carry on additional trading businesses, such as outfitting, jewellery, furniture, and hardware, and consequently, are larger employers of labour than was formerly the case. The hours of labour in pawnbroking shops are very excessive, extending to late hours at night, and in poor districts and factory towns the shops are often open as early as 6 a.m. in order to accommodate the hand-to-mouth class of people with sufficient money to pay the tallyman, rent, and other expenses. In many cases assistants work on an average 15 hours a day in that stuffy atmosphere so characteristic of pawnbrokers' shops. Cases are not unknown of assistants being required to sleep on counters and in corners of shops, like so many watch dogs. The nightly rest being taken in atmospheres already made foul during the day must mean a terrible source of physical danger to the victims.

So much for general conditions.

III.

Co-operative societies have many times been congratulated upon the general superiority of their conditions of employment so far as the hours of labour are concerned. As compared with shop assistants in the private trade, co-operative employés are better circumstanced, it is true, the general average working hours of the latter being very much less in number than those of the former. But whilst recognising this, we feel it is necessary to point out that the average working hours of co-operative shop workers greatly exceed the average hours of

skilled artisans, factory operatives, general labourers, and miners, the classes of people that very largely make up the membership of co-operative societies. This difference is accentuated when we consider the fact that the stated hours of labour of co-operative shop assistants are really but nominal, additional labour often being wrought after the doors of the stores are closed to the public.

Why this difference should exist between general workers and those employed in the stores has often been a matter of wonder to students of Labour questions. In the great majority of cases it is undoubtedly due to the apathy and inconsiderateness of the general public. There seems to exist a popular understanding, as one writer has put it, that "shop-keeping is a public convenience, has none of the rights, and little of the dignity of labour." Thousands of people seem to regard shopping not as a matter of business, but as a sort of pastime or recreation, to be indulged in just as fit and fancy may dictate, without regard to the comfort or convenience of shopworkers. In many towns and villages the stores are the regular meeting grounds of the gossips, who talk away until they forget much of what they set out to purchase, with the consequence that second or more journeys to the stores are necessitated, involving needless labour and trouble. Some customers seem to have no order or method in making their purchases. Frequent buying of small quantities of goods, not necessarily by reason of light purses, entails great loss of time on the part of both assistants and customers, and, in the case of credit-trading, additional labour in the booking-up of pur-

chases. One case we know of, more or less typical of many others, was that of a woman who had made 173 purchases at the stores in seventy-eight days. She practically made the stores her pantry. Then there are the customers who make a practice of arriving at the shops just before the hour of closing, and it is no exaggeration to say that a very large amount of overtime labour (unpaid) is due entirely to the inconsiderateness of late shoppers. Whether the shops close early or late makes little or no difference to the practice of the class of customers referred to; they are always late.

In 1893, at the Bristol Co-operative Congress, Mr. William Maxwell, late chairman of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, read a paper dealing with the conditions of employment in co-operative stores, and the revelations he made with regard to the excessive hours of labour prevailing at the time reflected great discredit upon co-operators as employers. In a statistical table Mr. Maxwell showed, first, that in the United Kingdom, of 1,172 societies making returns, there were 1,096, or 93·5 per cent., whose shops were open for business more than 60 hours per week. After deducting the hours allowed for meals, the net working week was over 52½ hours. A second analysis showed that of the 1,172 societies, there were 509, or 43·4 per cent., whose shops were open more than 66 hours per week, the actual hours worked being over 58½ per week. A third analysis showed there were 163 societies, or 13·9 per cent. of the total number, with shops open 70 to 85 hours per week, or a net working week varying from 62½ to 77½ hours per week. Mr.

Maxwell went on to state that employés had informed him that the closing of the shops at a certain hour in no way indicated the hours worked. Some societies, whose nominal hours of employment were set down at 56 or 57 per week, extended to 60 or 61. This was caused by the counter hands being kept after scheduled hours to make up goods for next day.

By comparing Mr. Maxwell's figures with those we have compiled it is possible to measure the progress made in the reduction of the hours of labour in stores during the seventeen years that have elapsed since 1893. We find that of 1,234 societies making returns in November, 1909, there were 947, or 76·7 per cent., whose net working hours were over 52½ per week; 123 societies, or 9·9 per cent., whose net working hours were over 58½ per week; and 40 societies, or 3·2 per cent., with net working hours varying from 62½ to 73 per week.

The two sets of figures are summarised and compared in the following table:—

TABLE VIII.

Year.	Total No. of Societies making Returns.	ANALYSIS I. No. of Societies, and percentage of Total, with Net Working Week of more than 52½ hours.		ANALYSIS II. No. of Societies, and percentage of Total, with Net Working Week of more than 58½ hours.		ANALYSIS III. No. of Societies, and percentage of Total, with Net Working Week of 62½ hours and upwards.	
		Number.	Percentage.	Number	Percentage.	Number	Percentage.
1893	1,172	1 096	93·5	509	43·4	163	13·9
1909	1,234	947	76·7	123	9·9	40	3·2
Percentage Decreases		16·8	..	33·5	..	10·7	

It will be seen from the foregoing figures that during the last seventeen years a remark-

able change has taken place, the employés of to-day working much more reasonable hours than formerly.

Notwithstanding the great improvement made during the period just mentioned, the hours worked at the present time are in many cases far in excess of business requirements, and, considering the intensive nature of the employment, they constitute a physical and mental burden that ought not to be borne by human beings. We have collected and arranged in the following statistical tables the latest information supplied to the Co-operative Union at the end of 1909, regarding the hours of labour in co-operative stores :—

TABLE IX.

Net Number of Hours worked per Week.	Co-operative Distributive Societies in				
	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Wales.	UNITED KINGDOM.
44	1	..	..	..	1
45	1	1	..	..	2
46	2	..	..	1	3
47½	3	1	..	..	4
48	72	1	1	..	74
48½	4	1	..	..	5
49	4	3	..	..	7
49½	4	3	..	..	7
50	17	12	..	4	33
50½	2	3	..	..	5
51	13	16	..	2	31
51½	10	3	..	1	14
52	25	21	..	10	56
52½	20	19	..	6	45
53	42	20	..	5	67
53½	5	16	..	4	25
54	104	29	2	8	143
54½	37	10	..	4	51
55	91	17	3	3	114
55½	69	5	..	5	79

TABLE IX.—*Continued.*

Net Number of Hours worked per Week.	Co-operative Distributive Societies in				
	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Wales.	UNITED KINGDOM.
56	103	16	3	6	128
56½	53	1	..	5	59
57	63	5	..	3	71
57½	21	..	..	1	22
58	42	4	4	2	52
58½	9	2	..	2	13
59	17	2	..	1	20
59½	4	..	..	..	4
60	29	1	1	3	34
60½	6	1	..	..	7
61	8	1	1	..	10
61½	1	1	..	..	2
62	5	1	..	..	6
62½	1	..	..	1	2
63	1	..	..	..	1
63½	1	..	..	..	1
64	5	1	..	1	7
64½	1	..	..	..	1
65	6	..	..	..	6
65½	1	..	..	..	1
66	7	1	..	2	10
68	3	1	..	..	4
69	2	..	..	..	2
70	..	1	..	2	3
72	1	..	..	..	1
73	1	..	..	..	1
Totals.....	917	220	15	82	1,234

A study of the above table reveals the great lack of uniformity in the working hours of societies, no less than forty-six different working weeks being in operation. In some cases societies with practically the same classes of people from whom to draw trade have widely different working hours.

Taking the United Kingdom as a whole, we

find that respectively the most common working weeks are of 54, 56, 55, 55½, 48, 57, and 53 hours' duration; but it is very discouraging to note that there are ninety-nine societies with a net working-week of 60 hours or more, and twenty-eight of these with a net working week of 65 hours or more.

So far as England itself is concerned, there are wide differences in the various counties in the number of hours worked. In Northumberland, Durham, North Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Westmorland, the hours of labour are the lowest in the country, and, as a matter of fact, in the United Kingdom. Of the 108 societies in England with working weeks varying from forty-four to fifty hours, ninety-eight are situated in the northern counties already named, most of them being in Northumberland and Durham. It is in the southern and south-western counties that the hours worked are the greatest in number. Of the seventy-nine societies in England with working weeks of from sixty to seventy-three hours, forty-two are in London and the south and south-west generally. The majority of the remaining thirty-seven societies are situated in the counties of Leicester, Worcester, Northants, and Nottingham. Emphasis should be laid upon the fact that the hours of work stated in the table are the nominal hours, which in a large number of societies are exceeded in actual practice.

The facts before us indicate that although much has been done by co-operators in reducing the hours of labour, they have still a vast amount of leeway to make up before they can be said to have substantiated their claim to be regarded

as model employers in this respect. Considering the very long hours prevailing in some societies, we need not wonder that many of the employés scorn the idea of devoting any part of their very limited leisure time to the study of co-operative problems or technical subjects in connection with their employment. Naturally, they prefer to utilise their spare time in recreation and pleasure, and in domestic and social intercourse.

The distinction so often made between co-operative productive and distributive workers is perhaps not so evident in any branch of labour conditions as in that of working hours. In most of the productive establishments the forty-eight hours week is in operation, and we cannot see why the treatment of workers in this matter should not be uniform. The co-operative movement professes to concede *fair* hours of labour to *all* its employés. If co-operators were sincere they would be found more ready to square their practice with the leading principles of co-operation. They have the opportunity now to voluntarily give more reasonable hours of labour. There is reason to believe that shortly they will be compelled by law to do so.

IV.

There is perhaps no business so fiercely attacked and so strongly defended as "the trade." The fight is waged against it chiefly from the ethical standpoint, and the bad conditions of labour of the men and women employed in the distribution of drink are only a side issue

in the fight. We desire to attack the people interested in the drink traffic not so much on account of the commodity sold, but rather because of the industrial wrongs entailed in the selling of it. In this connection we think it should be stated that the teetotallers are not free from blame, for they have not yet awakened to the economic position of those employed in the drink trade. The public-houses of many towns are owned by Peers, railway companies, accountants, estate agents, and members of Parliament ; and the tenants, managers, barmen, and barmaids are mere wage-earners in the business. It is a well-known fact that these wage-earners are very much overworked, although their actual hours of labour are not generally known to the public. Mr. J. S. Healy, secretary of the National Bar-tenders' Union, has supplied us with important information respecting the hours of labour of public-house workers in Liverpool and in various parts of Lancashire and Cheshire, which is detailed below.

Firm A has 470 licenses, many of which are held by tenants. This firm is described as one of the best employers in the trade. Yet the working hours in their houses are very long. They are as follow :—10¼ hours on two days per week ; 10½ hours on two days ; 11¼ hours on one day ; 15½ hours on Saturday ; and 5¾ hours on Sunday ; making a total of seventy-four net working hours per week. These hours apply to what are termed "two-handed houses." The managers in these houses are employed for thirteen hours per day for six days per week, besides the usual Sunday routine. In another class of houses owned by

the firm the net working week amounts to 76½ hours.

The following is the official list of working hours in the 189 houses owned by firm B :—

Manager : Monday, 12 hours ; Tuesday, 12 hours ; Wednesday, 13 hours ; Thursday, 5 hours (half-holiday) ; Friday, 12 hours ; Saturday 13½ hours ; total net hours for six days, 67½. To this total there is to be added all the time the houses are open for Sunday business, during which the manager is not allowed to leave the premises.

First man : Monday, 11 hours ; Tuesday, 11 hours ; Wednesday, 7 hours ; Thursday, 15 hours ; Friday, 11 hours ; Saturday, 15 hours ; total net hours for six days, 70. In addition there are all the Sunday hours.

The second man in each house works seventy hours, and the third man seventy-and-a-half hours in six days, and all the hours of business on Sundays.

The men engaged in the 122 licensed houses owned by firm C labour over eighty hours each week, and the ordinary working hours of those employed by firm D amount to eighty-three per week. In isolated cases the total reaches ninety and ninety-two.

The workers in the houses of firm E consider themselves better off generally than the average employés of Liverpool firms ; their working week, however, totals eighty-one-and-a-half hours.

The average working week in the houses owned by firm F is of eighty-two hours' duration.

It will be seen that there is urgent necessity for reform in the conditions of labour in public-houses ; and it is astonishing that the opponents

of the drink traffic have not thought fit to make capital out of this fact. Not only do those who serve the brewers as bar-tenders work seven days in the ordinary week, but in many cases they are employed on national holidays, when practically every other worker is free from toil. In the life there are many difficulties. The workers are expected to know the legal restrictions in relation to drunkenness and the good conduct of the house, and they must at the same time keep up the sale of drink as high as possible. These responsibilities and the immoral atmosphere of the public-house make the lot of barmen a very unpleasant one.

The life of barmaids is perhaps even more disagreeable than that of barmen. In 1905, the Joint Committee on the Employment of Barmaids published its report. The Committee reports in a strain similar to that of the average opponent of the drink traffic. It complains of the degradation of women from the moral standpoint. It argues that the attractive girl behind the bar is used as a medium to draw trade. The inquiries we have made into the subject confirm this. An old or even a middle-aged woman is hardly ever found behind the bar. Once her good looks are gone she herself must go. Youth and attractiveness are essential qualifications for work in the bar. To prove this we need only point to the fact that of the 27,707 barmaids in the United Kingdom in 1901, nearly 26,000 were under thirty-five years of age. There is no up-to-date statistical information, so far as we know, respecting the hours of labour of barmaids, but that they are excessive there is no doubt.

We have heard of cases in which women have been employed for over 100 hours per week. A few moments of reflection will convince the average person that there is in such conditions a mighty social evil, fraught with grave consequences, and reflecting greatly to our discredit as a nation. We need to remind ourselves that our talk of civilisation is empty boasting so long as the evils we have indicated are characteristic of our labouring conditions.

V.

If shopworkers required no sleep, pure air, opportunities for intellectual development, and home and social comforts, we could allow the question of long hours of labour to pass unnoticed; but as the human frame is of the same nature in shopworkers as in shopowners, we must impress upon the latter the necessity of some of the comforts they enjoy being extended to their employés. We know that it required much sacrifice and long hours of toil on the part of men like Sir Thomas Lipton and Mr. Jesse Boot to found their large business concerns, and probably the heavy expense of vitality may have impaired their constitutions. But they have had many chances to recoup their health, and possibly are none the worse for the energies they put forth in their younger days. We write of shop *assistants*, workers who allow every strong and capable organiser of business to plunder their labour, and who find it impossible for one in ten thousand of them to find avenues for any latent resources

they may possess to build up businesses for themselves.

The shop assistants of this country are not touched by law in respect to ventilation. This is a difficult point to deal with, but we submit that the conditions under which these people work call for the protection granted by the State to other workers, such as those engaged in the textile industries. It is commonly understood that shops, especially those devoted to the drapery and kindred businesses, breed more tuberculous germs than most other places where men and women work. An interesting point for consideration is the amount of cubical space necessary for a person to perform his work in and retain his bodily functions in order. An authority on sanitary matters, Mr. G. Reid, M.D., stated that "the space allowed each person should be 1,000 cubic feet. The amount provided in military barracks is 600 cubic feet, and that usually required for common lodging-houses is 300 feet."* We presume that nearly all shopworkers have to be content with less than the cubical space mentioned above, hence the frequent assertion respecting the prevalence of consumption amongst them. Take the average shop in a town ; it is visited by at least fifty customers per assistant per day. Providing the cubical space of the shop allows one thousand feet for each assistant, the fifty customers who may be present on an average two at a time must be taken into account, and the cubical space for the assistant is reduced to about 333 feet, which is almost as low as the prescribed area for common

* "Practical Sanitation" (p. 40).

lodging-houses. This, however, is taking a very fair view of the situation. We have seen shops more crowded throughout the day than any ordinary theatre or meeting-place, and the ventilation not so good as in those places; while the assistants have to work the long hours already mentioned. With the air overloaded with impurities as the result of respiration and effete matter arising from the body, there are also impurities arising from the burning of gas, particles of dust from the stock, and the dangers of contagion from customers who live in insanitary dwellings. The shops are growing more and more open for any person to enter, whether customer or not; and the assistants who serve purchasers come in contact with their breath exhalations day in, day out. It is undoubtedly true that there is scarcely another occupation which brings the worker into contact with so many unhealthy persons as that of the shop assistant.

Shop work would be a pleasant occupation providing the shops were built upon sanitary principles. But there does not seem to be any regard whatever paid to matters beyond the big windows, bright and brassy fixtures, and elaborate counters. The inlets and outlets for air are much the same as in ordinary houses, which is, of course, from a health point of view, not saying very much.

Medical evidence has always been against the excessive confinement of shopworkers. When the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Early Closing of Shops took its evidence, there was hardly a word spoken in favour of shop life on this point. Mr. J. G. Beaumont, representing the Birmingham

Drapers and other Associations before the Committee, quoted eminent medical men who wrote on the subject to the *Birmingham Early Closing Record*. Mr. Lawson Tate, a well-known surgeon, said he was horrified at the physical torture imposed by long shop hours. "I have seen many a young woman whose epitaph ought to have been 'died from daily torture, 8 a.m. to 10 p.m.'"

Sir James Sawyer wrote: "The manifold evils which arise in impaired health, in induced diseases and in shortened lives from working too long by day, and especially in a standing posture and in impure air, are well known to physicians, and are prominent and preventable causes of human sufferings." Drs. Malins and Jordan Lloyd wrote in the same strain, and the latter declared: "Weakened bodies and enfeebled minds are necessary consequences of prolonged confinement and monotonous occupations, whether behind the counter of a modern emporium or in the cell of an Eastern prison house." These opinions were given not with the view of bringing about an agitation to better the conditions of one class only; they were given in order to emphasise the point that society itself must ultimately suffer from the results of the undue incarceration of a particular class of workers.

The chairman and secretary of the directors of the Scottish Shopkeepers and Assistants' Union, in giving evidence before the Select Committee, quoted remarks made by Professor M'Kendrick, of Glasgow University; Dr. Yellowless, Governor of Glasgow Royal Lunatic Asylum; and Dr. Cowan Lees, who had an extensive practice in a populous shopkeeping

district of Glasgow. All these medical men were of opinion that shopworkers suffered physically, morally, and mentally as a result of excessive working hours and confinement. It has been pointed out by other medical experts that shop assistants and shopkeepers alike are subject to diseases of the chest and throat; that the tubercle bacilli easily prey upon their constitutions. Another occupational trouble is that of the weakening of the ankles, which has a very depressing effect upon the sufferers, who present an appearance of infirmity at an early age. In a large establishment in Manchester practically all the male assistants over forty years of age limp about in serving customers.*

The physical strain of shop life is greatly aggravated by the nervous irritation brought into the work of the assistants. Customers have been so accustomed to being pandered to in order to gain their custom that they are apt to command the assistant to do work which is sometimes laborious and unnecessary.

It was in 1886 that a Committee of the House of Commons unanimously declared that the very long hours worked by shopworkers were in many cases ruinous to their health, especially in the case of women. After this report was published, 300 of the most influential medical men of London presented a petition to the House of Commons praying the House to enact the Early Closing Bill of Sir John Lubbock. Sir William Church, the president of the Royal

* This firm has the reputation of treating its employés better than others in the same line of business, and the "flat-foot" among the assistants is evident because they are retained in the service until what is, in shop life, a fairly advanced age.

College of Physicians, giving evidence before the Lords' Commission, declared that in the case of women assistants the detrimental effects of their employment could be found in after years telling against them, and he was emphatic in his opinion of the evil effects of long hours on shopworkers. He pointed out the mistake made in choosing shop life as a career for weak young persons. The parents have the idea implanted in their minds at present that it is not a hard employment physically, and frequently weak children are sent to serve their apprenticeship in shops. This idea will have to be combated if we are to have reforms in shop life. The public are too ready to look at the assistant at the counter, the clean and gentlemanly appearance he presents there, and the obliging way he goes about his business. A peep into his home, a test of his pulse, and an examination of his nervous condition should be made before any final opinion is arrived at by parents respecting this so-called respectable occupation.

Another and a most serious consideration should be given to this subject. It is quite apparent to those who come in touch with shopworkers that their employment has a tendency to adversely affect their intellectual powers. The weakness of ambition, too, is to be plainly seen among those who have served many years behind the counter. These deficiencies arise from the lack of opportunity for self-improvement. Evening classes attended by other workers cannot possibly be taken advantage of by shop assistants, whose opportunities for recreation also are extremely limited. This applies also to small shopkeepers,

with the exception that their right to leave the shop for the house, which may be attached to the shop, relieves the tension somewhat. It is, however, the almost unanimous desire of shopkeepers and shopworkers alike that the long hours should be legally curtailed.

As in the distribution of food and clothing, so in connection with the sale of drink. The long hours and unhealthy atmosphere of the public-house have a decided effect on the health of barmen and barmaids. Not only is their work quite as laborious and difficult as that of the shop assistant, but they have to live in an atmosphere full of the germs of disease, especially in the poorer districts of large towns. The continuous smoking and spitting of the customers produce a great strain on the best constitutions, while the nervous tension created by irritating, half-drunken men and women destroys their vitality. The most important point, however, is that after the bar-tenders become exhausted, the stimulant which is at hand is often used as a prop until the weary day draws to a close. It was stated by the Medical Officer of Woolwich, in 1903, that "one third of the public-house servants of London die of phthisis, a mortality from this cause far greater than that of any other class of persons." And Dr. Sidney Davis, M.A., M.D. (Oxon), in an article in 1905 on "Alcoholism and the Death-Rate" stated: "I have examined the death-rate of a group of public-houses, and find that it is double the death-rate of the general population, and that the death-rate from consumption in these houses is three times that of the borough." Lord Peel, speaking in 1901, remarked: "It

is said that barmaids of beauty are selected to draw custom. They should be reminded that these long working hours are not favourable for the human complexion. The red and white which Nature's cunning hand laid on, will soon vanish from those cheeks under such labour." The barmaid is to some extent in the same position as the woman shop assistant and café worker; whether she feels bright or not, she must appear so to the customers, and the worry must not tell on her speech lest she should incur the displeasure of the manager or proprietor.

Although we have been unable to gather from Local Authorities any very definite data as to the prevalence of consumption amongst shopworkers, we were able to secure sufficient information from the Medical Officers of some of the large provincial cities—which, by the way, are great shopping centres—to state that the deaths from consumption in those cities average 11 per cent. of the total deaths. Taking this figure as a basis of comparison, it will be seen from the tables which follow, that the disease works greater havoc amongst shopworkers than most other sections of the community.

In the first table following we are able to show the mortality figures among the organised co-operative shopworkers during the last ten years. It will be seen that the deaths from consumption among co-operative shopworkers are 19·6 per cent. higher than the average from the same cause among the total population. This is a terrible indictment against the occupation of the shopworker, even in those establishments where the hours are

shortest and the conditions of labour are supposed to be on a higher level than in ordinary shops.

TABLE X.

SHOWING DEATHS FOOM ALL CAUSES, DEATHS FROM CONSUMPTION, AND PERCENTAGE OF DEATHS FROM CONSUMPTION OF SHOPWORKERS WHO WERE MEMBERS OF THE AMALGAMATED UNION OF CO-OPERATIVE EMPLOYES. THE PARTICULARS ARE OBTAINED BY AN ANALYSIS OF THE REGISTRARS' CERTIFICATES OF DEATH.

Year ended December 31st.	Deaths from ALL Causes.	Deaths from Consumption.	Percentage of Deaths from Consumption.
1900	11	3	27·3
1901	32	7	21·9
1902	48	14	29·2
1903	34	14	41·2
1904	45	15	33·3
1905	44	11	25·0
1906	41	13	31·7
1907	61	14	22·9
1908	57	17	30·0
1909	94	35	37·3
Totals	467	143	..
Average ..	..	..	30·6

We shall show, however, that the indictment is greater still when analysing the case of the private traders' assistants.

A well-known text-book*gives a table showing the number of deaths from consumption which occurred at a certain period among different classes of workers. We give below an analysis of the table, with the percentages of deaths from consumption, in order to show the

* "Practical Sanitation" (p. 6). G. Reid, M.D.

difference between the various trades and their effects on health, in comparison with the occupation of the shopworker.

TABLE XI.

SHOWING THE PERCENTAGES OF DEATHS FROM CONSUMPTION IN DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS :—

Occupation,	Total No. of Deaths.	Deaths from Consumption.	Percentage of Deaths from Consumption.
Coal Miner	891	126	14·3
Carpenter, Joiner ..	820	204	24·9
Baker, Confectioner	958	212	22·1
Mason, Builder, Bricklayer	969	252	26·0
Wool Manufacturer.	1,032	257	24·9
Cotton Manu'turer .	1,088	272	25·0
Quarryman	1,122	308	27·5
Cutler	1,309	371	28·3
File Maker	1,667	433	25·9
Earthenware Manu.	1,742	473	27·2
Cornish Miner	1,839	690	37·5
Totals.....	13,437	3,598	26·8
Co-operative Shop Worker	467	143	30·6
Private Trade Shop Assistant	..	..	45·0*

It will be seen at a glance that only one occupation gives a higher percentage of death-rate from consumption than that of work in co-operative shops, whilst the private traders' assistants who die from consumption show a percentage far above the highest of other

* Based on figures given in the Address of the President of the Shop Assistants' Union, Liverpool Conference, 1910.

occupational results in the table. Almost all the chief trades are included by the statistician quoted as authority, and it is questionable whether there is any calling which demands so much toll in deaths from consumption as that of serving behind the counter in shops.

We have not been able to secure the number of deaths from consumption amongst the members of the Shop Assistants' Union in the same way as we have been able to do with the Co-operative Employés' Union. We have, however, through the officials of the former Union, secured a classified table showing the causes of deaths among the 160 members who died during the five years 1905-09 :—

TABLE XII.

	Per cent.
Anæmia and Debility	4·4
Digestive Diseases	7·3
Respiratory Diseases	58·5
Surgical Diseases	3·6
Zymotic (fevers)	3·6
Heart Troubles	7·3
Miscellaneous Troubles	9·5
Violent Deaths (Accidents and Suicides)	5·1

These figures were verified by a qualified medical man, and are set out in the orthodox manner peculiar to the medical fraternity. It will be seen that the percentage of deaths from respiratory diseases is out of all proportion to the other causes. This indicates that the employment of shop assistants is extremely destructive to the respiratory organs of the body. It also confirms the arguments used previously in this chapter relating to long hours of toil in the vitiated atmosphere of shops.

The significance of the table given can be

seen very much clearer if we make it a subject of comparison with the respiratory diseases among workers in other employments. Taking as our basis the figures of the author previously mentioned, we give a table below showing the percentages of deaths from this cause in other occupations :—

TABLE XIII.

SHOWING PERCENTAGES OF DEATHS FROM RESPIRATORY DISEASES AMONGST DIFFERENT CLASSES OF WORKERS.

Occupation.	Total No. of Deaths.	Deaths from Respiratory Diseases.	Percentages of Deaths from Respiratory Diseases.
Coal Miner	891	202	22·7
Carpenter and Joiner	820	133	16·2
Baker and Confect'r	958	186	19·4
Mason, Builder, and Bricklayer	969	201	20·0
Wool Manufacturer	1,032	205	19·9
Cotton Manufact'r .	1,088	271	24·9
Quarryman	1,122	274	24·4
Cutler	1,309	389	29·7
File Maker	1,667	350	21·0
Earthenware Manu.	1,742	645	30·7
Cornish Miner	1,839	458	24·9
Private Trade Shop Assistants	160	—	58·5

From this table it will be seen that, with two exceptions, the percentage of deaths from diseases of the respiratory organs among shop assistants is more than double that of any other calling. Even the extremely unhealthy occupations of the cutler and earthenware manufacturer do not tax the victims to anything like

the same extent as the work of the shop assistant.

Sufficient has been said to show that the occupation of the shop assistant calls for a great sacrifice of life. Not that it is necessary for it to do so: shopkeeping has not yet been properly understood by the community. There are occupations which, if all the principles of sanitation were adhered to, would still, from their nature, demand an excessive percentage of deaths. But for hundreds of thousands of the youth of this country to be made subject to the ravages of one particular disease, far and above the percentages of other "dangerous" trades, calls for drastic action on the part of the State directed towards the removal of this terrible evil from our midst.

CHAPTER IV.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDER-EMPLOYMENT.

I.—Introductory Note—Unemployment of Commercial Workers Generally.
II.—Unemployed Trade Unionists—Painful Facts—Original Investigations.
III.—Under-Employment and Unemployment of Co-operative Employés—Volume Increasing.
IV.—Intensive Nature of Shop Labour—Results—Over-Employment of Juveniles—Cast-Out Shop Assistants in the Crowd—Tyranny of Radius Agreements—Conclusion.

I.

THE subject of unemployment is one of the most prominent of the day. All political parties have something to say about it, though their opinions as to the causes and cure of unemployment are widely divergent. There is, however, no real denial of the existence, in this, the richest country in the world, of a large army of unemployed and under-employed men and women, for the most part able and willing to work. During the last few years unemployment and under-employment have increased considerably; not in any one district, but in all parts of the country; not amongst one class, but amongst all classes of workers—skilled and unskilled, efficient and inefficient, temperate and intemperate. It was commonly said but a few years ago that men and women need not be without work or short of work if they desired it; unemployment and under-employment were chiefly due to personal failings. But we now know from official

records and statistics that hundreds of thousands need and desire work but cannot get it, and only those who have come into close contact with the searcher after work can realise the feverish eagerness with which he at first pursues his quest, or observe the blank despair that steals over him as failure after failure meet him at every turn. And we now know, also, after being stupid so long, that whilst some share of unemployment and under-employment may be due to personal faults, it is mostly due to the present organisation, or rather lack of organisation, of industry and trade. The chief causes of unemployment are not personal, but social and industrial.

In nearly all official Government returns relating to unemployment, manual workers are the classes chiefly, if not entirely, dealt with; little or nothing is said about the unemployment of members of the professional and commercial classes. Yet these number many thousands, and, in some respects at any rate, their condition is worse than that of artisans. We have been told recently, for instance, of the increasing volume of unemployment in the teaching profession. Figures published by the National Union of Teachers showed that "in July, 1908, 4,384 teachers left the training colleges to secure employment if possible. Three months later at least 1,226 were unemployed, whilst even after an interval of twelve months 259 were still known to be without employment. Of the 4,836 students who left the colleges in July, 1909, 1,528 were without employment in October, 1909." According to one writer,*

* Mr. H. J. Lowe, in *Socialist Review* for March, 1910 (p. 44).

some of the unemployed teachers are "driven to addressing envelopes for a mere pittance; others have joined the police force; whilst some of the women have been driven into accepting the position of waitresses in refreshment rooms. This means that, whilst trained for a special work at the public expense, they have been driven by economic necessity to supplant others in the labour market."

Mr. Chiozza Money, writing in 1905, stated:* "Unemployment is by no means confined to the manual labour classes. All the humbler units of commercial life are subject to treatment which is little better than that accorded the 'workman.' As I write there are thousands, if not tens of thousands, of clerks, writers, warehousemen, shop assistants, travellers, canvassers, agents, and others out of work and undergoing terrible sufferings in the endeavour to keep afloat. I have heard of several cases lately in which advertisements offering berths of small account have been hungrily applied for by hundreds of applicants." That Mr. Money painted no fancy picture, and in no way overstated the case, we shall presently show. In point of fact, unemployment amongst shop assistants was rife for many years previous to the publication of Mr. Money's well-known book. As we have elsewhere remarked, the unorganised condition of shop assistants has made them the passive victims of unscrupulous traders and company firms, who, in a comparatively few years, exhaust the strength and vitality of their employés, and then ruthlessly turn them adrift (sometimes

* "Riches and Poverty" (p. 111).

at a moment's notice) knowing there are many others ready and eager to step into the vacant places; for competition for employment in shops long ago reached its lowest depths. Perhaps there is no branch of industry in which there is so much competition as in that of shopkeeping, nor one in which the evils of competition are so keenly felt by the workers. Thousands of bankruptcies take place every year, throwing large numbers of shopworkers amongst the unemployed. Large-scale control assumes a greater and greater hold of the distributive trade year by year, resulting in the reduction of the numbers employed. The sufferings of unemployed shop assistants are indeed terrible. When at work their wages are at a very low level of subsistence, and afford but little opportunity to "put by for a rainy day." The great majority do not insure through a trade union against loss arising from unemployment, and, consequently, when it overtakes them they are practically penniless.

II.

We have made a careful inquiry into unemployment and under-employment amongst the shopworkers organised in the two largest trade unions covering the distributive trades. These are the National Union of Shop Assistants, and the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employés. The first-named organisation publishes in each annual report and statement of accounts the number of members at the end of the year, the number of members drawing unemployment benefit from the funds, and the total amount of unemployed benefit payments.

From the annual reports and accounts of the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employés we have been able to secure the same figures as those just named, and, in addition, particulars of the number and geographical position of the Union branches paying unemployed benefit each year. Taking the figures thus obtained as a basis we have compiled the tables presented below and in the Appendices.

TABLE XIV.

SHOWING NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF SHOP ASSISTANTS AT END OF EACH YEAR, AND NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF SUCH MEMBERS RECEIVING UNEMPLOYED BENEFIT.

Year ended Dec. 31st.	Total No. of Members in Union at end of year.	No. of Members receiving Out-of-work Benefit during year.	Percentage of Members receiving Out-of-work Benefit during year.
1894	1,651	49	3·0
1895	1,618	60	3·7
1896	1,978	87	4·4
1897	2,323	101	4·3
1898	2,897	145	5·0
1899	4,900	186	3·8
1900	7,551	341	4·5
1901	10,041	623	6·2
1902	11,700	850	7·3
1903	13,022	1,105	8·5
1904	15,527	1,429	9·2
1905	17,238	1,702	9·9
1906	19,952	2,058	10·3
1907	20,218	1,928	9·5
1908	19,710	3,103	15·7
1909	20,450	2,282	11·1

The figures in the foregoing table indicate a very high rate of unemployment amongst organised shop assistants engaged in the private distributive trades. From 1894 onwards there

was a steady increase in every year except 1897, 1899, 1907, and 1909. The highest percentage was that of 1908, which reached 15·7 per cent. of the total members. This rate exceeds by 2·8 the highest unemployment percentage (that of the engineering, shipbuilding, and metal trades) revealed by the reports of the Board of Trade.

In order to more fully and clearly show the relative volume of unemployment amongst shop assistants in the private trade and workers in other trades, the following table is submitted :—

TABLE XV.

SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF TRADE UNIONISTS UNEMPLOYED ACCORDING TO

Year.	(*a*) BOARD OF TRADE RETURNS.			(*b*) TABLE XIV.
	All Trades.	Building Trade.	Engineering, Ship Building and Metal Trades	Shop Assistants in Private Trade.
1894	..	..	..	3·0
1895	6·05	4·4	8·2	3·7
1896	3·50	1·3	4·2	4·4
1897	3·65	1·2	2·4	4·3
1898	3·15	0·9	4·0	5·0
1899	2·40	1·2	2·4	3·8
1900	2·85	2·6	2·6	4·5
1901	3·80	3·9	3·8	6·2
1902	4·60	4·0	5·5	7·3
1903	5·30	4·4	6·6	8·5
1904	6·8	7·3	8·4	9·2
1905	5·6	8·0	6·6	9·9
1906	4·1	6·9	4·1	10·3
1907	4·3	6·4	5·0	9·5
1908	8·9	10·1	12·6	15·7
1909	..	..	..	11·1
Annual Average	4·6	4·5	5·4	7·3

It will be seen that for fourteen out of fifteen years the percentage of unemployed shop assistants was higher than that of any other class of workers, whilst the annual average percentage exceeded by 1·9 that of the highest of any other trade.

The figures given in Table XIV. apply only to organised shop assistants. If the same percentage were taken for the whole army of shop assistants (estimated at about one million), there must have been upwards of 150,000 shop workers unemployed for longer or shorter periods during the year 1908, and 110,000 in the year 1909; or, taking the annual average percentage of 7·3, the number of shop assistants seeking employment each year must reach upwards of 70,000.

The National Union of Shop Assistants pays unemployment benefit in cases of actual unemployment only, i.e., unemployment by termination of engagement.* No benefit is paid in cases of short-time working.

We have not been able to secure reliable statistical information as to the extent of under-employment and casual labour in the private trade, but that it is considerable cannot be doubted. "In busy marketing neighbourhoods, a whole class of butchers' assistants are engaged only for Fridays and Saturdays."†

Mr. W. E. Lockett (secretary of the Shop Assistants' Union Minimum Wage Committee), writing in the *Shop Assistant* for October 16th, 1909, against the system of wages fixed

* For complete statistics regarding unemployment benefit, see Appendix III.

† "Minority Report of Poor-Law Commission" (Chapter IV. of Part II., p. 188).

by the hour, said it would, if adopted, eventually result in some trades being worked on a small permanent staff with extra hands at week-ends and busy times and seasons. Continuing, Mr. Lockett went on to state: "A good many of the larger firms cut down their staffs to the very lowest basis for the quiet seasons, and when the busy time, generally sale time, comes on, the trade papers are flooded with advertisements for hands. In some few cases it is plainly stated that they are to be temporary, whilst in others, indeed the majority, nothing of the sort is hinted at. In each and every case they trust to obtaining the necessary assistance from the vast army of out-of-works. There is seldom any difficulty in getting sufficient, for whilst some have drifted gradually into the position of habitual temporary hands, others trust to being fortunate enough at the end of a busy season to be asked to fill a permanent position. The result, though, is always the same, for each one thus fortunate has only taken the livelihood of another. In some houses in the drapery trade it is now a common practice to insist that at quiet seasons the staff shall take it in turns to have a week or a fortnight's holiday in the spring or other quiet season *without* pay, whilst in some other trades it is becoming a practice for hands to be stood off when trade is slack, of course without payment. Hairdressers for a number of years longer than I care to look back upon, have made a practice of engaging extra hands for Friday and Saturday nights, and in some of the country market towns it is quite usual to draft in practical milliners and dressmakers for market days. In the small town where I served my time, there

was hardly a draper's shop where this practice was not in vogue, some of the hands being, as I have said, small practical milliners or dressmakers or married women who have been in their single days shop assistants, and who in their married days are willing to put in a few half-days occasionally for the sake of extra pin money."

III.

It has been one of the proud boasts of orators of the co-operative movement that its employés enjoyed regularity of employment and security of tenure. On these grounds the payment of only moderate wages has often been defended. We do not dispute or doubt that regularity and reasonable security of employment may have been features of co-operative service in days gone by; but certainly they are now conspicuous by their absence. The blight of commercialism has fallen upon the movement and crushed out much of its old-time idealism. The desire to keep up the "dividend" to a "respectable" figure overpowers in many co-operators the desire to treat their employés justly, and methods of taxing labour hitherto regarded as exclusively characteristic of capitalists have been for some time back, and are in an increasing degree, resorted to by co-operators. The probability of dismissal on account of falling sales or dividend is a nightmare to many co-operative employés, and many poor fellows are eventually thrown aside, being told their "services are no longer required." And who, pray, will require their services? The private trader? The multiple company? Not so.

Those acquainted with the facts of the case know quite well that it is most difficult for shop assistants discharged from co-operative service to secure situations in the private trade. Some of them drift into other branches of commercial employment; some into other occupations; whilst others commence business on their own account in opposition to the "stores," with more or less success, or, as often happens, with failure.

We prove our statements as to the increase of unemployment by recorded facts in Table XVI. on page 110.

It should be noted that the members drawing out-of-work benefit were, in the great majority of cases, not actually dismissed from work altogether, but suspended for—in most cases—short periods, so that distributive expenses would bear a "more satisfactory ratio to trade." Provided that members are suspended for at least six clear consecutive days, they receive unemployed benefit from the Union funds.*

The practice of short-time working by co-operative societies has grown year by year, as the following table clearly shows. Chronic under-employment is now one of the settled features of co-operative service; of that fact there can be no doubt. The process is something like this. Depression in the general trades of the country or staple trades of given districts lowers the average weekly wage and

* In this respect the two Unions of distributive workers differ; for, as we have already pointed out, the National Union of Shop Assistants pays out-of-work benefit only in cases of actual dismissal, or termination of engagement.

TABLE XVI.

AMALGAMATED UNION OF CO-OPERATIVE EMPLOYES.

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF MEMBERS, AND THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF SUCH MEMBERS DRAWING UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT EACH YEAR; ALSO THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF UNION BRANCHES IN DIFFERENT TOWNS PAYING UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT EACH YEAR.*

Year Ended June 30th.	Total Number of Members in Union at End of Year.	Number of Members Receiving Out-of-Work Benefit during Year.	Percentage of Members Receiving Out-of-Work Benefit during Year.	Total Number of Branches in Union at End of Year.	Number of Branches Paying Out-of-Work Benefit during Year.	Percentage of Branches Paying Out-of-Work Benefit during Year.
1896	2,179	8	·4	95	6	6·3
1897	3,186	12	·4	121	8	6·6
1898	4,320	51	1·2	147	23	15·6
1899	5,430	46	·8	168	33	19·6
1900	6,270	55	·9	193	38	19·7
1901	7,338	96	1·3	224	62	27·7
1902	8,294	122	1·5	250	66	26·4
1903	9,404	195	2·0	274	100	36·5
1904	10,535	296	2·8	310	109	35·1
1905	11,819	446	3·8	346	138	39·9
1906	13,203	416	3·2	383	147	38·4
1907	17,393	409	2·4	440	162	36·8
1908	23,122	564	2·4	535	171	31·9
1909	27,032	1,368	5·0	614	269	43·8
		Average....	2·0			

* For an account of the geographical distribution of unemployment and under-employment, see Appendix, III.

purchasing power of members of co-operative societies. With falling purchasing power the trade of the stores declines to some extent: the "dividend" falls a penny, or it may be a few pence. The fall in the dividend is then responsible for crowded and sometimes angry meetings of co-operative members. Panic, fear, and trembling seize co-operative members and directors, and in their extremity they turn to labour to make the sacrifice of a few weeks' wages in order that "the fund commonly known as profit" may be augmented. The "dividend hunger" is appeased somewhat by labour foregoing part of its necessary subsistence. Thus we have the spectacle of societies paying dividends of 2s. 6d. and upwards in the pound on purchases, suspending employés in batches for each week or several weeks in a quarter-year. In some instances, of which we have taken particular note, the amount "saved" to co-operators by this cheeseparing of the wages bill has been quite insufficient to make a difference of a penny in the pound in the dividend rate. But even if a penny could be added to the dividend in this manner, would it greatly benefit the average purchaser? Let us see. Placing the average purchases per co-operative member at the high rate of £1 per week, or £13 per quarter, a penny added to the dividend rate would yield him only 1s. 1d. gain for the three months. Compare this with the loss of the average employé, which would amount to at least 24s. (taking only one week of each quarter as the period of suspension), a sum equal to a fraction over 1s. 6d. per £1 of three months' full wages. To put the case briefly: A penny

dividend gain to the member involves a wages loss of 1s. 6d. to the employé.

We have not as yet seen any sound justification of the system of short time working in stores. From a co-operative standpoint it merits nothing but condemnation; it is manifestly inequitable and unfair. We are told sometimes that the co-operative system "seeks to conciliate the conflicting interests of capitalist, consumer, and worker." As a matter of fact, it does nothing of the kind, and when platform orators declare that it does they mislead their hearers. Capital gets its fixed rate of interest, whether sales and dividend remain stationary or fluctuate in the upward or downward direction. And as between trade and labour there appears to be no unity of interest. Dividend is supreme. Labour receives but secondary consideration. It is most amazing to see how humbly co-operative workers submit to such a contorted application of co-operative principles, and how short-sighted they are to allow their trade union funds to be used as a subsidising agency for the bolstering up of co-operative dividends. During the fourteen years, 1896-1909, the total out-of-work benefit payments of the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employés amounted to £11,469; of this amount £9,177 was for the last five years of the period.*

We can quite understand that in some cases hard times hit co-operative trade to such an extent that suspensions or dismissals are inevitable if the societies are to continue in

* For complete statistics regarding unemployment benefit, see Appendix III.

existence. Such cases, however, are very few, and the circumstances are exceptional.

We are often tempted to ask why those co-operative societies that are so ready to make their employés the first victims of trade depression do not invite them to share the benefits of trade expansion and activity. When trade is brisk and dividends are maintained we do not hear of employés having their wages increased on that account, or being paid for the many hours of overtime so often worked.

Co-operators as a body have not yet given adequate consideration to the question as to how best the results of recurring periods of depression in the general industries and trade of the country can be met. The necessity of strengthening their reserve funds is scarcely recognised by some societies, whilst in others the amount set aside each quarter to reserve is quite insufficient to meet effectively the adverse circumstances which sooner or later affect most societies. We would urge that it is the duty of co-operators to see that of the good profits earned in prosperous times, an adequate proportion should be placed to reserve, so that when the depression follows the boom in trade, societies will be better able to meet their financial obligations without having to make inroads of a predatory kind into the wages of their employés.

IV.

The "speeding-up" of labour which characterises many present-day trades is now operating also in the distributive trade. As

assistants are physically and mentally used up, others are ready to take their places. From the shops of our country there is a constant outflow of human derelicts, who frequently become the very "bottom-dogs" of society. The intensive nature of shop labour, the terrible strain of overtoil, work quickly on the physique and appearance of the "men of the counter" and reduce their working life to a minimum. Here we should like to say just a few words regarding the age at which the labour of shop assistants ceases to be effective. It has been estimated by one * well acquainted with most phases of the calling that 75 per cent. of shop assistants are played out at thirty-five years of age. This estimate probably errs on the side of optimism, for in many establishments the limit of effective employment is reached at a much earlier age. "Too old at twenty-one" is now quite a familiar phrase, full of terrible meaning to shop assistants both in private and co-operative trade. On arrival at manhood and womanhood and requiring adult wages, assistants are frequently discharged and replaced by low-paid, and, in some cases, unpaid juvenile labour. Some firms carry on their business largely by juvenile labour. In December, 1909, it was reported to the Newcastle-on-Tyne Trades and Labour Council that "a firm in the city carried on its business largely by unpaid labour. The method of the firm in question was to engage girls for a six months' apprenticeship during which they received no wages. At the end of this period they were discharged and

* Mr. T. Spencer Jones (Editor, *Shop Assistant*).

their places taken by other girls on the same conditions. The firm carried out the system so well that they always had at hand a number of girls skilled in the work who received no wages for their services." Thus is the labour of young girls exploited. Thus are women prevented from earning a living. We have the over-employment of girls and the under-employment of women. But the results of the system outlined above are felt in other directions. The constant stream of young discharged shopworkers filters down to other occupations and exerts an adverse economic pressure on the workers engaged therein.

Two questions have often been asked: What becomes of the vast number of discharged shop assistants? Do most of them get back to their trade, or do they drift into other walks of life? We were much interested in these questions, and so cast about for information in regard to them. In studying the minutes of evidence of the House of Lords Committee (1901) on the Early Closing of Shops we noted the evidence of Mr. J. Aubrey Rees, who has long been connected with the Grocers' Assistants' Association. Mr. Rees, asked what became of shop assistants in after life (Q. 134), stated that "in the majority of instances they drift into other occupations, and it is very difficult to trace them in after life." On being asked (Q. 135) whether he was prepared to give any evidence as to the kind of occupations into which shop assistants drifted, Mr. Rees replied: "It has come to my knowledge that they frequently become 'bus conductors and insurance agents, and enter various occupations of an outdoor nature." In the *Shop Assistant*

for August 28th, 1909, someone, writing under the *nom-de-plume* of "Argo," narrated his experiences as a shopworker on tramp. These are so interesting that we reproduce them here in part for the benefit of our readers :—

> "No matter where I went," he writes, "I was always certain of meeting unemployed grocers and drapers. . . . One would be selling matches, another laces, others were ekeing out a miserable existence by acting as 'commission agents,' and still others were to be found selling newspapers. Most of those whom I came in contact with seemed to be filled with the desire to sell something—it was, perhaps, only a natural feeling when one remembered that the greater part of their lives had been spent in selling things over the counter. Wherever I went there were to be found amongst the crowd ex-drapers and ex-grocers. In the reading-room one saw them crowding round the stand anxious to look at the advertisements in the *Daily Telegraph*. At the docks, and wherever the bottom dogs of society congregated, there I found my brothers in misfortune. On the 'road,' tramping from one town to another, I met them; in lodging-houses they were to be seen; and sitting in the waiting room of a railway station I have fallen in with them and listened to their tale of woe. It was always easy to pick the unemployed shop assistant out of a crowd standing outside some shipyard or warehouse waiting for a chance of a job. One knew them by the genteel mien they bore; the green and thread-bare jacket which had seen better days was also a token that the wearer was out of his bearings. Moreover, I always noticed that they were not given to 'rushing' round the 'gaffer' as soon as he appeared to take on 'hands.' They hung back, and were hustled out by those whose whole lives had been spent in such conditions. The result was that rarely if ever did they succeed in obtaining a job, and I doubt very much that even had they succeeded in catching the 'gaffer's eye' that they

> would have been engaged. Long continued unemployment and lack of food had left its impression to such an extent that they would have been unable to do the work."

The difficulties of discharged shop assistants in securing fresh situations at their own trade are added to considerably by the restrictions frequently placed upon them by means of what are known as "radius" agreements. Workmen in other trades have the fullest freedom to accept situations in any town or district, a freedom which is denied to many shopworkers. Under the terms of the "radius" agreement the shop assistant may accept a situation only in a town or district outside a given radius of any place of business carried on by his late employer or employers. These agreements are imposed on employés chiefly by the large company firms, and are entirely unknown in the co-operative movement. The agreements preclude the employé from taking a situation or commencing a business of his own within a radius varying from one to thirty miles for a period of from one to ten years after the termination of service with his employers. As men are frequently moved from one branch shop to others in different towns, the excluded area assumes a very large proportion of the total available field of employment, and thus makes it extremely difficult for the worker to secure a berth; in many cases it practically amounts to exclusion from the trade altogether. The reader will find in Appendix IV. the complete text of the most common form of radius agreement in operation at the present time. The organised shopworkers have made strenuous, and in many cases successful,

efforts to secure the withdrawal of these tyrannical agreements. A bill has been drafted and brought into the House of Commons to make radius agreements null and void. A copy of this Bill is shown in Appendix V.

So long as our present system of production and distribution endures, unemployment and under-employment appear to be inevitable. The system demands a constant labour surplus. There is absolutely no attempt to organise production and services according to the need for them. Until that is done we share the belief that the evil of unemployment cannot be eradicated.

But so far as the distributive trade is concerned, unemployment and under-employment could be greatly reduced in volume, if not entirely done away with, in two ways. First, by the restriction of boy and girl labour and prevention of its misuse; and second, by the reduction of the vast amount of excessive toil of those in employment, both in scheduled time and overtime.

With regard to the first point. There is no doubt whatever that the proportion of juveniles to adults in shops is altogether excessive. A large number of boys enter shop life without any hope of permanency in the calling beyond the stage of adolescence. The distributive trade is one of those industries in which has developed the system of working with a minimum of adult labour, only retaining sufficient to supervise the work of the juniors. As these latter attain manhood and ask for men's wages they are discharged to make room for a further supply of boys. Work in shops being largely an uneducational occu-

pation,* those who are excluded from it go to swell the already overcrowded ranks of unskilled labour. We think some attempt should be made to restrict the entrance of boys into shop life to the number required for the efficient recruitment of the calling. And we believe that the limitation of juvenile labour would not only favourably affect the question of unemployment: it appears to us that it would be beneficial to employers if less juvenile labour were engaged. True, it is low-paid labour. But it is not necessarily *cheap* on that account. We have known of many instances in which it would have paid employers to dispense with juvenile labour because of its inefficiency and wastefulness.

Respecting the second point, we believe it is absolutely true that in no trade is there so much overtoil and unemployment co-existing at one and the same time as in that of distribution. The facts already stated in this book go to prove this. Yet it would not be difficult to so alter the conditions as to relieve the employed assistant of his inhuman burden of overtoil, and allay the terrible sufferings of the unemployed man by giving him the opportunity of sharing in the work of life. If this were done, the class of workers immediately concerned, who form a large proportion of our population, would be greatly benefited—physically, mentally, and intellectually—and the community and nation at large also would stand to gain enormously thereby.

* Boys are not properly taught their trade in many establishments, and opportunities for improving their general education are extremely limited, owing to their long hours of daily labour.

CHAPTER V.

LIVING-IN.

I.—Shackles of the Truck System—Civilised Slavery—Relic of Bygone Days—Living-in System a Profit Department.
II.—Living-in not a Moral Safeguard—Hypocrisy of Employers—System not a Business Necessity—Domesticated Submission of Employés—Deprivation of Citizenship Rights—Enforced Celibacy.

I.

IN studying the life of shop assistants we must, as we have stated elsewhere in this work, remember that they are heirs to the demoralising conditions of employment imposed upon their predecessors as far back as the early part of last century. While practically all other workers have cast away the shackles of the truck system, these men and women are still on the threshold of the march to liberty. Their efforts during the present century to emerge from industrial chaos go to prove how deep they are in the mires of society; and to those who are engaged in other occupations of a manual nature, it is matter for wonder that shop assistants, who are supposed to possess some qualities and knowledge superior to those of the artisan, have allowed restraints upon their lives to become acknowledged customs and the chains of commercialism to bind them almost as beasts of the field.

There are no words too strong to denounce the living-in system, whether its operations give

"satisfaction" to the assistants or not. It is nothing short of civilised slavery; and when some of those who live under the system accept it without a word of objection we must not forget that the greatest opponent to the emancipation of the slave may be the slave himself. Historically considered, the system is a relic of the time when the small shopkeeper accepted his nieces and nephews as apprentices to the trade he carried on. In the course of time these young men and women became shopkeepers themselves, and did as their relatives were accustomed to do. In point of fact, shopkeeping in many small towns and villages was quite a family occupation, and the inhabitants were served with the necessities of life by the members of one family from generation to generation. Shopkeeping then meant that the shop kept the family, and a communal interest prevailed among the small trading fraternity. In this social atmosphere the nephew and niece apprentices were well-housed and clothed for their labour, and the parents and relatives in turn patronised the business man. Business was humanised, and human interests were not altogether subservient to commercialism. The gradual transition of the family shop into the emporium drew the youth of the country into the towns, and many well-intentioned shopkeepers made provision for their welfare. They would not be many in number, and although they would not actually enter into the shopkeeper's family life, they generally had a personal contact with him, and slept under the same roof as the family. Another rapid transition took place in the distributive trade, which brought the emporium into a vast ware-

house, where every article of food, clothing, and all kinds of wares are sold. The warehouse is owned by speculators of the most arrogant type, who employ a large number of assistants and a few agents to manage the business and make it profitable. Everything within the limits of the law is done for profit by these people.

The living-in system is *profitable*, and for that reason is put into operation by hundreds of unscrupulous traders. The system, however, is out-lived, and how ill-fitted it is to modern conditions we shall endeavour to show. It used to be a convenience, but of late it has developed into a department of profit, and in this connection we must strongly object to it. Those who desire to perpetuate it should understand that the highest purpose is not served in producing and selling food for profit; nor is it to the credit of any people to manufacture articles of clothing for dividend only; but, worst of all, it is a callous undertaking to manipulate human beings and turn their very existence into profitable account.

II.

The owners of living-in establishments would have us believe that it is their high sense of morality, their care and guardianship for their assistants, that call for the building of what we must term "shop barracks." It is difficult to believe this contention, because in hundreds of these places the assistants never see, neither do they know who the proprietors are. The fancy names under which the business of some firms is carried on is no indication whatever as

to the names of the proprietors, and all that the assistants know is that the rules in relation to their food and cubicles are enforced "by order of the directors." In the administration of these places the assistants hardly ever come in contact with anyone except their colleagues, matron, cook, and porter. By this method of administration the claim to guardianship from such employers cannot be sustained. And even if an employer of a large number of shop-workers desires to exercise a parental care over them, he must spend a great deal of time amongst them and be willing to grant an amount of elasticity in order to make their lives comfortable. These things, so far as our investigations go to prove, are not much in evidence in living-in establishments. The semi-religious attitude of some shopkeepers on this question is most hypocritical, and their excuses for the perpetuation of a most anti-Christian custom cannot but alienate the mass of shop-workers from the teaching of the Master, whom these people profess to follow. If they cared so much for their employés, they would surely live somewhere in the same neighbourhood. Instead of this being the case, we have found that practically all the shop proprietors who maintain the system herd their assistants in some drab or poor and filthy quarter of towns, while they reside out in the country or in some pretty and healthy seaside resort.

One of the arguments used for the continuance of this evil system is that it expedites business. It is stated that in some trades it is impossible to use portions of the upper floors of shop premises, that the business has to be carried on almost entirely on the ground floor,

and that unless the upper rooms are turned into cubicles and apartments for the assistants it would be impossible to carry on the business successfully. This argument is entirely opposed to what is found in actual practice. In some towns we have found that all the living-in establishments are separated from the business premises, and some of the largest firms who carry on the system let out the upper portions of the shops as offices, &c. Then again, it should be emphasised that thousands of firms make a good turnover in trade, pay high interest on capital, and generally manage to declare a reasonable dividend without resorting to this questionable method of trafficking.

Another argument very much used to support living-in is that because it is abused by some employers it should not be generally condemned. We are told that it gives opportunities of social intercourse, lightens the cares of assistants, and that if it was abolished the men and women of the counter could not live respectably and would run riot. In fact, we are told that it is of no advantage to the employer to perpetuate the system, and that it is a noble method of life whereby the best may develop in those who live by it. If this is the case, we cannot see why it is that the noble feelings of these employers are not expressed in some of their trade organs, and leagues formed for the formation of new living-in houses. What do we find? The system is not advocated by any one individual shopkeeper; it is only through keen opposition that we have been able to get reasons in defence of it. The quiet submission of the assistant to the system is what makes it possible to raise any arguments in its favour,

and so long as they are capable of such servility so long will they be looked upon as a unique and passive class of workers. If accommodation was limited in those districts where shop assistants labour we could believe that a necessity arose for a special method of housing them; but the first step towards building a shop is to make certain that the population warrants such a course, and in that case there must be a sufficient number of persons always glad to give board and lodgings to shop assistants on reasonable terms.

We have, then, on the one hand the hypocrisy of the employer, and the domesticated submission of the employé on the other. The relations between them at present, although somewhat more strained than at any previous time, are not sufficiently acute to hope for the immediate abolition of living-in. The assistants are legally domestic servants, and the apathy which is characteristic of the vast majority has forced into their lives all the hardships of domestic service without any of the home comforts attached to the occupation as followed in the kitchens of the gentry. To those who have studied the life of the living-in assistant it must be obvious that he has lost the consciousness of his rights of citizenship; deprivation of the elementary rights of enfranchisement has made him lose that interest in the community which has of late become so characteristic of the artisans of this country. The claim to even a lodger's vote is a matter of great concern to the British people. When we consider the terrible agitations which have turned around the question of the vote, we begin to wonder where the spirit of independ-

ence has gone to among male shop assistants who allow themselves to be deprived of a share in the government of the country.

One of the greatest objections to the system, however, is that it is made a condition of employment. An assistant seeking a situation must, in his present economic position, accept the conditions imposed upon the occupation. When he applies for a situation with a living-in firm, he cannot bargain for a definite sum of money per week as remuneration for his labour; he has to bargain for a sum plus board and lodgings. What the latter amount to is impossible to estimate, and he contracts with his employer on speculation. His returns from the speculation very often are a weakened constitution from bad ventilation and the consumption of poor foodstuffs, loss of personal secrecy, and clean habits. It has been proved that the fear of losing employment has compelled young men and women to remain in their insanitary surroundings, and that the coupling of their work with board and lodging has benumbed many assistants to their real interests as workers. The limitation of personal responsibility naturally brings a weakness of purpose, and it is quite possible that the lack of organisation among private traders' assistants is due to some extent to this fact. It is doubtful whether the assistants who are content to live-in will ever combine in order to remedy their grievances in other directions.

Such is the effect of the system on the personal stamina of the assistants. This point leads up to another important effect of the system which has its serious consequences. In many instances, it has been proved, living-in male

assistants have been informed, when they have made application to live out in order to enter into matrimony, that they must sever their connection with the firms. To live out means very often to get out of employment. When this is the case there cannot be anything more repugnant, and those who have studied human nature cannot but see the possibilities of many degraded and immoral lives as the direct effect of living-in. We do not desire to exaggerate on this subject, neither is it our intention to attribute too many evils as having resulted from living-in; but we would suggest that if an excuse is required from any class of workers for not fulfilling their home obligations, shopworkers can, above all, offer a most reasonable plea on the grounds mentioned in this chapter. This seems to us one of the best arguments for its abolition, inasmuch that a growing consciousness is apparent in all civilised countries that there must be an inquiry into the ever-declining birth rate. Much food for thought on this question can be got by a study of shop life; nowhere else are sex relationships so much brutalised as here. Celibacy is enforced not so much because the persons are incapable of maintaining a home, but because a direct commercial advantage accrues to the employer from the celibate conditions of his employés.

CHAPTER VI.

Towards Reform.

I.—Difficulties, and the Way Out—Trade Unionism.
II.—Existing Legislation—Projected Legislation.
III.—Wages Minima.
IV.—Abolition of Living-in System.
V.—Co-operative Employés and Their Voting Powers—Labour under "Democratic Control."

I.

The foregoing chapters describe in detail the hard and difficult life of distributive workers. It will be seen that as a class they stand almost alone in yet having to win the most elementary rights of labour. Underpaid and overworked; the victims of every unfortunate turn in trade affairs, and cast out from the hope of life at a comparatively early age; bound by iron fetters of discipline, and voiceless as to the conditions under which their labour shall be performed and their lives spent—they present a most pitiable spectacle for the world to look upon.

They have been called the "children of apathy." And well they deserve the title. We know of no class so devoid of a sense of the meaning of life and of the happiness it should yield to them. They are content with so little when they could have so much more.

If numbers counted for anything, shop workers—of whom there are about a million in this country—should be a most powerful class. But the mere numbers of any class without cohesion and unity of aim and purpose are of no use whatever in deciding the lines upon which the progress of that class shall proceed. The miners of this country number upwards of half-a-million, only half the total of shop-workers, but wielding by the strength which comes from close union and solidarity a tremendous power over the conditions of their daily toil. At one time in our industrial history the miners were in as bad an economic position as shop assistants are to-day, but their trade unionism, directly in the industrial field, and indirectly in the political sphere, has entirely changed the face of things. They have climbed from amongst the lowest placed workers to the highest, entirely by force of organisation.

And what applies to miners applies also to engineers, printers, carpenters and joiners, and other tradesmen who have reason to know the value of combination.

The way out of the difficulties which beset the path of shop assistants is therefore quite clear. Let them find an example in the case of more fortunately situated workers of what trade unionism can do, and let them also look at what has already been accomplished by the small band of united shop assistants (not more than 60,000 all told) who to-day are fighting the battles of the million. Two decades measure the space of time which has elapsed since attempts were first made to organise distributive workers, and in that period most

valuable work has been done in creating a public opinion favourable to the reform of shop life.

Then what a vast change has been wrought in the lives of thousands of shopworkers as a result of combination. Higher wages have been won; hours of labour reduced, particularly so in the sphere of co-operative employment; radius agreements in many cases abolished; better sanitary accommodation and ventilation secured; the living-in system removed in some instances; and, in the case of co-operative employés, membership rights in co-operative societies obtained where they had been previously restricted or withheld.

Space will not allow of a detailed account of the great advantages that have attended the organisation of shopworkers: for this we must refer the reader to the publications of the three chief Unions covering distributive workers.*

II.

The Union of private shop assistants has so far directed its energies chiefly to advocating the legal limitation of the hours of labour in

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* Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employés, Co-operative News Building, Long Millgate, Manchester. Monthly Journal: *The Co-operative Employe.*

National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks, 122, Gower-street, London, W.C. Weekly Journal: *The Shop Assistant.*

Irish Drapers' Assistants' Association, 56, Henry-street, Dublin. Monthly Journal: *The Drapers' Assistant.*

shops. Excessive toil is undoubtedly the greatest grievance of the distributor, and the evil results the most obvious. Moreover, long hours are the lot of the great majority of shop assistants, organised and unorganised, and the Union is wise in endeavouring to strike the imagination of non-unionists as well as unionists by laying stress on the need for reduction of the hours of servitude.

So far as shop hours legislation is concerned this country is very backward indeed. The only law limiting the hours of labour in shops is that of 1892, which provides that no person under the age of eighteen years shall be employed in or about a shop for a longer period than seventy-four hours, including meal-times, in any one week. This is inclusive of time occupied upon the employer's business elsewhere than in the shop. The provisions of the Act do not apply to a shop where the only persons employed are members of the same family dwelling in the building of which the shop forms part, or to which the shop is attached, or to members of the employer's family so dwelling, or to any person wholly employed as a domestic servant.

If eight hours, about the average time allowed for meals, are deducted from the gross total stated in the Act, the net working week is of sixty-six hours duration. And this is for young persons!

For persons eighteen years of age and upwards there is as yet no legal limitation of working hours. There is, it is true, a Shop Hours Act, which was placed on the Statute Book by the Conservative Government in 1904. It is, however, of very little value to assistants.

The Act provides only for earlier closing, and does not fix the hours to be worked by assistants in any one week. It has, of course, in a number of instances, by effecting earlier closing, reduced the hours of labour, but these cases are comparatively few. The Home Secretary, two years ago, admitted that the Act of 1904 had completely broken down and required strengthening.

The demands of organised shopworkers are embodied in a Bill drafted by the National Union of Shop Assistants, and supported by the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employés. The Bill proposes, as stated in the memorandum, so to amend the Shop Hours Act of 1904 that it will be compulsory on local authorities to make closing orders in their areas, though it will empower them to refer to the ratepayers :—(1) Whether or not an order shall come into operation ; (2) whether or not any alteration shall be made in the proposed order. The Bill determines the latest closing hours for each day which may be fixed by the local authority, leaving the local authority free to distribute the particular closing hours over the different days of the week. Clause 10 of the Bill provides that : (1) *A person shall not be employed in or about a shop for more than sixty hours, including meal-times, in any one week.* (3) *A person employed in or about a shop shall be allowed an interval of not less than one hour between noon and two o'clock in the afternoon for dinner, and an interval of not less than half-an-hour between four and seven o'clock in the afternoon for tea.* The Bill also contains proposals with regard to Sunday closing of shops, the prohibition of

employment of children under fourteen, sanitary conditions and ventilation, and sanitary conveniences. It is so designed as to give to persons employed in shops some of the protection which the existing law gives to persons employed in factories and workshops.

This Bill has been introduced by Sir Charles Dilke annually for a number of years, but in view of the fact that the present Government have introduced a measure,* the main features of which closely resemble those embodied in the Dilke Bill, the organised shop assistants are now bent on securing the adoption of the Government Bill, with certain amendments.

The chief provisions of this Bill, so far as the limitation of hours is concerned, are :—

(1) The fixing of sixty hours, excluding meal-times, as the maximum working week.

(2) The fixing of a weekly half-holiday, at not later than 2 p.m.

(3) Assistants not to be employed after 8 p.m. more than three days per week (subject to certain exceptions).

The amendments for which the trade unions are pressing are :—

(1) *Universal* sixty hours week INCLUSIVE of meal-times.

(2) Weekly half-holiday at 1 p.m.

(3) Adequate meal-times.

If amendment (1) were secured it would

* The Home Secretary (Mr. Winston Churchill) hopes to pass it into law this year (1910).

effect a tremendous difference in working hours in private trade, whilst nearly 1,000 co-operative societies would be required to make reductions in working hours.

The Government Bill limits the amount of overtime to thirty days in the year, two hours on any one day being the limit. It provides also for the closing of shops on Sunday (with certain exceptions); for seating accommodation for females; and for sufficient ventilation and sanitary conveniences for both sexes.

III.

The wages question has exercised the minds of trade unionist shop assistants most noticeably in the last five years, and a great deal of useful work has been done by the Shop Assistants' Union and the Co-operative Employés' Union in fixing minimum rates of wages for their members. The Shop Assistants' Union some years ago fixed a "flat" minimum of 30s. for assistants at twenty-one years of age, but it was found to be impracticable. Eventually, after the completion of the labours of the Union's Special Minimum Wage Committee, and the adoption by the 1910 Annual Conference of the Committee's report, the following scale of wages was agreed upon as that for which the Union should fight :—

WAGE RATES FOR ASSISTANTS AT TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE.

	PROVINCES.		LONDON.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.
Provisions and Gro. (Including Wines and Spirits, and Corn Chandlers) ..	24/-	..	29/-	..
Drapery.....	26/-	20/-	31/-	23/-
Mantles.....	..	25/-	..	30/-
(Window Dressers)	25/-	..	30/-	..
Boots	24/-	18/-	29/-	22/-
Clothiers.....	26/-	..	31/-	..
Butchers.....	*26/-	..	*31/-	..
Ironmongery	26/-	..	31/-	..
Hosiery and Hats ...	25/-	..	30/-	..
Furnishing (Hard) ..	26/-	..	31/-	..
Pawnbrokers	26/-	..	31/-	..
China and Glass	26/-	20/-	31/-	23/-
Oils and Colours	24/-	..	29/-	..
Stationers and News.	26/-	20/-	31/-	23/-
Hairdressers	24/-	18/-	29/-	23/-
Jewellers.	30/-	22/6	35/-	27/6
Chemists(unqualifi'd)	30/-	..	35/-	..
Tobacconists.....	24/-	18/-	29/-	23/-
Booksellers	26/-	20/-	31/-	22/6
Fishmongers and Greengrocers	25/-	..	30/-	..
Confectioners	..	18/-	..	23/-

Shopwalkers, 35s.; Retail Travellers, 30s.; Warehousemen (Salesmen) to rank as Salesmen in their respective trades; Packers, Porters, &c., 21s.

*Includes Van Salesmen.

MANAGERS' RATES (based on weekly turnover).—35s. up to £50 turnover, and 2/6 extra for every £25 increase in weekly takings.

The Co-operative Employés' Union has not differentiated between trades. A dozen years ago it laid down a *minimum* wage of 24s. for male adults at twenty-one years of age, and has continuously demanded that amount as its irreducible minimum. Several hundred

co-operative societies have been brought into line, and now pay this rate to all their assistants. As time went on it was found that there was a tendency on the part of committees of management to make the minimum the standard rate, and to overcome this the Union in its various districts framed wages lists providing for annual advances (beyond the 24s.) of 1s. rising to 30s. or more. In London, the rate laid down for assistants at twenty-one years of age is 30s. In addition a general minimum of 30s. was fixed for branch shop managers, and higher rates in some sections of the country.

The Co-operative Congress, largely as a result of the educational propaganda conducted by the Co-operative Employés' Union, has for three successive years endorsed the following wages scale for young persons :—

Boys : Age fourteen years, 6s. ; fifteen years, 8s. ; sixteen years, 10s. ; seventeen years, 12s. ; eighteen years, 15s. ; nineteen years, 18s. ; twenty years, 21s. ; twenty-one years, 24s.

Girls : Age fourteen years, 5s. ; fifteen years, 7s. ; sixteen years, 9s. ; seventeen years, 11s. ; eighteen years, 13s ; nineteen years, 15s. ; twenty years, 17s.

Additional rates have been fixed and agreed upon by the Co-operative Employés' Union and the Women's Co-operative Guild as follow :—

For girl apprentices in productive departments (starting at age fourteen).—First year of apprenticeship, 2s. 6d. per week ; second year, 5s. ; third year, 7s. 6d.

For women in distributive departments.—Manageresses in branch shops, minimum 21s. per week ; manageresses who are also buyers

for shops or departments, minimum 25s. per week.

It will thus be seen that provision is made for all stages of service—the junior, the senior assistant, and the shop manager. Those above the rank of branch manager are usually well able to look after themselves. So far as we know, they have not yet fixed any definite rates of remuneration.

The reader will gather from what has already been narrated that a good start has been made in securing some agreement amongst shop assistants as to the price at which they will sell their labour. This is an important advantage gained. What is now required is a stronger trade union membership, so that the pressure exerted on employers can be increased with a view to the rates of wages laid down being adopted. They are reasonable and less than just. No doubt the cry will be heard that increased wages costs will ruin the employers, but shop assistants know this to be absolutely untrue. Co-operative employés have been warned repeatedly that, if they pushed their demands for increased wages to the extent of the scales laid down, the stores would be involved in a serious position. This is nonsense. In view of the huge profits they make, co-operative distributive stores can easily stand the strain of trade union wages conditions. So can the private trade, the profits of which run into millions of pounds sterling annually. But in any case, labour, which is life, ought to stand before profits. Employers place profits first. They will get labour cheaply if they can. It is the business of employés to make their labour dearer, and to insist upon getting

something much more than a mere subsistence wage. They must realise that they have a right to such remuneration for their labour as will yield something more than what will maintain them in industrial efficiency; something that will enable them to enjoy some of the advantages of travel, of participation in the higher life, and of security for a comfortable and honourable old age.

IV.

The Shop Assistants' Union has carried on a vigorous campaign against the living-in system during the last few years, and the prominence given to the subject has aroused public opinion somewhat against its continuance. If this campaign is pursued with the same vigour as hitherto, it must of necessity bring the doom of the system earlier than it would otherwise be possible. Another, and perhaps the most important factor towards the abolition of the system, was the appointment of the Departmental Committee on the Truck Acts in 1906. The Committee inquired into many phases of labour in shops, and the Report issued gives positive proof of our contention that shop assistants as a class of workers are unique in respect to the treatment meted out to them. The Committee were divided on their recommendations as to the reforms necessary. The Majority Report recommended a better regulation of living-in establishments, and stated that it was capable of being adjusted to present needs if it were supervised properly.

They argued for remedies in opposition to abolition.

The Minority Report signed by Mr. Stephen Walsh, M.P., and Mrs. Tennant, recommended prohibition by law. They contend, as we do, that "a system where workers are compelled to lodge and board in a particular place must, in itself, stand condemned, whether that place be owned and controlled by the employer or any other person. However bad the accommodation may be, the assistants have no power to retaliate by removing to rival establishments, and there is therefore no incentive to improvement."

This relic of bygone days must of necessity be cleared away as the eyes of the public become more centred upon it. It would have passed away quietly, like many other curious customs, were it not for the fact that it "pays." But the greed of the capitalist becomes unbearable when it enters into the lives of any class of men and women to wantonly exploit them. We have become so accustomed to the iniquities of the distributive trade that we accept them as methods of business. But a sure, if slow, spirit of revolt is breaking out among the thinking public, and whether the shopkeepers and the assistants desire it or not it will ultimately be considered among the things belonging to past days.

V.

The last part of this chapter is devoted to a brief consideration of the position occupied by co-operative employés as members of the

societies by which they are employed, and of the "democratic control" of their labour.

The student of theoretical co-operation generally takes it for granted that employé-members can dictate to some extent by their votes the labour policy of the societies by which they are employed. The principle laid down in all text-books relating to the subject is quite clear, namely, that the workers by virtue of co-operative membership can exercise great influence for their own welfare. The lay mind is not aware that anything to the contrary is conceivable in the movement, and there would appear to be no reason why an intelligent staff should not meet and discuss a society's balance sheet, resolve upon a certain course of action, and decide to whom they should cast their votes in the election of committeemen.

This right of co-operative enfranchisement is not, however, so evident in practice as in theory. There are various pretexts and methods for the exclusion of Labour from exercising influence by vote over its conditions of employment. In some cases the boards of management have had definite provisions inserted in the codes of rules to the effect that no persons employed on the premises shall speak or vote at societies' business meetings. In other instances the shops are open and the employés at work during the time the meetings are held. In a few cases, although no definite instructions are given, the employés are led to understand that their presence is not conducive to the best interests of the societies. It is true that in the majority of societies the door of the meeting place is wide

open, and nothing is placed in the way of the workers taking part as members in the control and government of business. But even so, labour does not readily assert itself, for obvious reasons. If absolute secrecy could be secured as to their identity, employé-members would often make suggestions and criticise the business methods of societies.

Attempts are made from time to time on the part of co-operators to disfranchise their employé-members in the interests of, as they assert, the good government of societies and the discipline of labour. On the other hand, we find that one or two societies have at present employés on the board of management, and we are given to understand that in these cases no special class interest has been pushed forward by the worker-directors against the equitable interests of the general body of members. The ultimate general effect of the direct representation of labour cannot be measured until it becomes more prevalent. It may be justly claimed, however, that although the movement does not exist solely for its employés, their membership rights should not be taken from them simply because they are permanently employed in the movement.

In the chief text-book on co-operation we are told that :

> The democratic rule of one member one vote is in practice in all distributive societies.*

This statement, as we have already shown, is not exactly correct, a number of societies excluding employé-members from exercising the vote.

* "Industrial Co-operation" (p. 91).

We are further informed that :

> Members are disqualified for election to committees in many societies upon any or all of the following grounds: By being under the age of twenty-one years, by holding office or place of profit under the society, &c.*

There may be reasonable arguments for the exclusion of employés from boards of management, but it is not compatible with co-operative principle that they should become voteless as members of their societies. The term "holding office or place of profit" seems to be the general term used in the competitive world, and it has been allowed to creep in and to be looked upon as essential in the disciplinary measures used to govern labour in the co-operative sphere. A certain amount of timidity and fear reign in the movement; fear of the government of the movement falling into the hands of the employés. A brief analysis of the position will indicate that this must be the outcome of ignorance of the comparative numerical strength of employés to that of co-operative members. It is safe to say that the employé membership does not average more than 1 to 2 per cent. of the whole, and no amount of agitation can place this small percentage in absolute power over the destinies of any society, even with the sparse attendance of ordinary members at business meetings.

Loss of voting power, from labour's standpoint, must reduce co-operative trading institutions to the same level as ordinary business concerns, which treat labour as a commodity

* "Industrial Co-operation" (p. 93).

and look upon the engaging and dismissing of servants as they do the buying and selling of goods. Co-operative workers have a duty in protecting their rights, not only to themselves but to those who believe in the amelioration of the masses by collective efforts in production and distribution. They should guard against any weakening of the co-operative constitution, and help thereby to keep co-operators from violating principles which seem to be canons in the literature of the pioneers and idealists of the movement. There should be guiding principles of action in the movement, such as equality, liberty, and fraternity. The adoption of any rule which excludes employés from voting and taking part in co-operative government means the introduction into the movement of privilege, which is a violation of equality ; arbitrary rule, which is a violation of liberty ; and class strife, which is a violation of fraternity.

Those who are versed in the management of the co-operative store movement are well aware of the cleavage of opinion that exists between its officials and the rank and file on labour questions. Taken as a whole the latter are imbued with a juster conception of labour's claims than are the former. Those who occupy positions as managers, secretaries, or directors very often seem to be filled with the desire to show grand results from a commercial standpoint, and to realise this desire are ready to subvert the claims of labour on every possible occasion. We freely admit that the ordinary members are generally alert on the question of dividends, but experience has shown us that they are more willing than their officials to

forego high dividends in order that labour may be better rewarded.

In proof of this statement we could cite cases of co-operative workers agitating for better labour conditions, their requests being refused by the officials, and appeals to the members succeeding in face of the most bitter opposition from those in power.

It does sometimes happen, however, by reason of sheer apathy or mistaken trust on the part of members, that officialism predominates. In some instances, the blind and implicit faith placed in officials by members is most striking. A president, secretary, or manager, by his personality may elevate himself to such a position that almost everything he does is accepted without a murmur. Thus we find that the "one man society" is not only a possibility but an actuality. Where power is thus vested in an individual, labour has to depend for its reward on the goodwill of that individual, a quality that is, unfortunately for labour, usually absent, for the co-operative benevolent despot is a *rara avis*. In order to emphasise this it may be pointed out that in a few instances it is possible to see one member swaying the same power in the co-operative domain as any rural squire does in his territory; and wages and general conditions of labour prevailing in that domain can be measured by what the co-operative autocrat has to submit to in the factory, mill, railway shed or mine. This accounts for the declaration sometimes made that "it is better to work for a capitalist employer than for a 'democratic' individualist."

Of late years an impetus has been given to

the executive powers of co-operative boards of management, and incidentally of arrogant individuals, as against the voice of the members, by legal decisions in the law-courts, and by the national official body of the co-operative movement—the Co-operative Union Limited. A typical case, showing the legal view of the powers of a co-operative society's board of management in the control of business and employés, was decided a few years ago. The committee of a co-operative society in the Midlands discharged an employé. The members of the society at a special meeting resolved that the employé should be reinstated. The committee refused to comply with the terms of the resolution, and their action was afterwards upheld in a court of law. The judge held that the business conducted by the committee was entirely without appeal, and that the members who appointed the committee must abide by what they did.

Another case may be quoted to further illustrate our point. In the early part of 1909 an agitation for the earlier Saturday closing of the shops of a large society in Lancashire was conducted by members of the society. The Saturday closing hour was 8 p.m. A resolution to close at 6 p.m. was adopted by an overwhelming majority at a general meeting of members. The board of management, however, after taking legal advice as to their powers, refused to carry out the mandate of the general meeting. The chairman of the society at a subsequent meeting explained that the resolution arrived at by the members was entirely out of order, and that only the board of management could legally decide the ques-

tion. The board eventually compromised, and decided to close the shops at 7 p.m.

These cases, which are typical of others, lead us to an examination of the rules of co-operative societies, which are mostly based upon the Model Rules issued by the Co-operative Union, the body responsible for giving legal advice to societies. It is claimed that the Model Rules embody all that is democratic, and tend for the success of the movement generally. An analysis of Rule 90,* which gives power to control co-operative workers, shows that it may be construed against what is termed the right of the democracy. If a board of management carried out its co-operative principles, it would ask the membership to decide finally on questions of doubt, and make the members' meeting the court of appeal. It will be seen, however, that this rule does not state that any such appeal may be made by the board of management. The worker has no legal right whatever to bring his case to the meeting, even when the board may have dealt with him in an arbitrary and hasty manner. And the custom in co-operative societies to transfer the power of controlling the labour policy of societies from the hands of the members is a menace to their progress as real collectivist trading institutions.

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* General Powers of Committee of Management:—"They may, from time to time, engage, remove, or discharge all managers, salesmen, or employés of any description required to conduct any such business, and fix their duties, salaries, or other remuneration, at such rates, and require them to give such security, either in the forms hereinafter contained, or in such other forms approved of by them as they determine."

Co-operative employés, if they desire their labour rights to be respected, must do everything that lies in their power to sustain the principle of collective control of the co-operative movement. Nothing is more dangerous to the workers than the tyrannical sway of a small caucus; and nothing more favourable to them than the opportunity of appealing to the unfettered judgment of the general body of co-operators.

CHAPTER VII.

Shop Hours Legislation in Other Countries.

Germany—France—Switzerland—Russia—Austria —Denmark—Australia—New Zealand—Natal.

In this short chapter we do not profess to deal exhaustively with the subject of legislation abroad. This is a branch of investigation hedged around with great difficulties, and may well in itself form a special work. The information set down here will, nevertheless, convey a very fair idea of the main provisions of foreign shop hours laws, which in some cases are more advanced than those of the United Kingdom.

For the information respecting European countries we are indebted to Miss S. Sanger, the honorary secretary of the British Association for Labour Legislation, who kindly made special inquiries in our behalf. We were able to supplement the particulars supplied by Miss Sanger with notes based on the reports from British representatives abroad regarding a weekly rest-day in foreign countries.*

The particulars in regard to legislation in Australasia are based chiefly on the report†

* Cd. 4,468 (1909). † Cd. 4,168 (1908).

presented to the Home Office by Mr. Ernest Aves.

GERMANY.

Empire.

The Industrial Code (Section 139c) provides that assistants, apprentices, and workmen in public places of sale, and the offices and warehouses attached, shall be allowed a period of at least ten hours uninterrupted rest after the daily period of employment.

In communes with more than 20,000 inhabitants, the prescribed period of rest in shops, &c., where two or more assistants or apprentices are employed, is eleven hours.

The assistants must be allowed a "suitable" midday break, which, in the case of assistants who take their meals off the premises, must amount to one-and-a-half hours.

Exceptions.—The rule does not apply to :—

(1) Work which must be done to prevent damages to goods.

(2) Legally prescribed stocktaking, work necessitated by removals or re-building, &c.

(3) On not more than thirty days in the year fixed by the local authorities, for all or certain branches of work

Section 139f of the Code allows local authorities to order, on the application of two-thirds of the shopkeepers, &c., concerned, shops to be closed during certain seasons or during the whole year as early as 8 p.m., and to remain closed until as late as 7 a.m.

Section 105b of the Industrial Code prohibits the employment of shop assistants and other commercial employés on Sundays and

festivals for more than five hours. This may be reduced by certain local authorities, and exceptions may be allowed in the four weeks preceding Christmas and on other Sundays where necessitated by local conditions; under such an exception, assistants, &c., may be employed for ten hours on Sundays and festivals. On Christmas Day, Easter Day, and Whit-Sunday, employment is prohibited altogether. The "Festivals" are mostly Church Festivals—Christmas Eve, New Year's Day, Good Friday, Ascension Day, &c., and extra days at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. They do not seem to be defined for the Empire. They vary in different localities.

The foregoing information is supplemented below by notes supplied by the Bureau fur Sozialpolitik on Legislation for the Protection of Shop Assistants and Commercial Employés in Germany.

Section 62 of the Commercial Code has only a "platonic" value, since there is no special system of inspection in commercial establishments, such as is demanded by the Employés' Associations. Inspection is carried out by the police only in localities where watch committees have been appointed by the organisations with the object of drawing the attention of the local police to gross breaches of the law.

Section 62 of the Commercial Code is supplemented by Section 139h of the Industrial Code, which empowers the Federal Council to issue more detailed regulations in pursuance of Section 62 of the Commercial Code. In pursuance of this Section an Order has been in force since 1901 requiring seats to be provided for commercial employés.

Section 139c of the Industrial Code requiring a certain uninterrupted period of rest to be allowed is elastic and difficult to enforce. The employés are endeavouring to obtain definite regulations respecting the length of the period of employment. The hours of work of commercial employés are also affected by Section 139e, which makes the closing of shops at 9 o'clock compulsory, and also by Section 139f, which empowers the local authorities to introduce by local regulations 8 o'clock closing.

According to statistics supplied by the largest organisation of commercial employés, 8 o'clock closing had, up to December 31st, 1908, been introduced in

34 large towns with over 100,000 inhabitants.
37 towns with from 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants.
110 towns with from 20,000 to 50,000 inhabitants.
193 towns with from 5,000 to 20,000 inhabitants.
127 towns and communes with less than 5,000 inhabitants.

501 towns.

These numbers certainly ought to be increased by now, as the agitation for the introduction of 8 o'clock closing has been very successful just recently. Similarly, the employés' organisations have met with success in procuring a reduction in the number of days on which shops may, in pursuance of exceptions allowed under Section 139e, be closed at a later hour.

The agitation for Sunday rest in commercial establishments has met with less success than that for 8 o'clock closing. In this connection Section 105b, paragraph 2, of the Industrial Code has been considered. This Section permits Sunday work for as long as five hours. As, however, these five hours are interrupted by breaks for church attendance, the employés are often required to work also on Sunday afternoons. Local authorities may reduce Sunday labour by regulations or even introduce complete Sunday rest, allowing shops for the sale of articles of consumption to remain open only for a few hours. The employés' organisations are, naturally, trying to procure Sunday rest by local regulations; but, on the whole, their efforts in this direction have been less successful than those for 8 o'clock closing. It would be of greater value to them to procure Sunday rest by law. As early as December, 1907, the Imperial Home Office had prepared a draft Bill which marked a distinct advance. Sunday rest was prescribed as a general rule, and exceptions could only be allowed on specified Sundays for not more than three hours (at present five hours work is the rule, and efforts are to be made to procure a reduction), but this Bill was never even brought before the Reichstag.

FRANCE.

There seems to be no legislation in France regulating hours of work in shops except the Sunday Rest Law.

The Act of July 13th, 1906, provides that

workers in industrial and commercial establishments (including shops) shall be allowed a weekly day of rest of not less than 24 hours. The day of rest is usually to be on Sunday. But where a simultaneous holiday of the whole staff on Sunday would be injurious to public interest or disorganise the normal working of the establishment, the holiday may be allowed on another day; or from noon on Sunday till noon on Monday; or on the afternoon of Sunday, supplemented by one whole holiday in every fortnight allowed by rotation; or by rotation to the whole or part of the staff.

The right to give the holiday in rotation is allowed only in particular trades, specified in the Act and decrees in pursuance of it.

The weekly holiday may also be suspended in emergencies. In such cases a compensatory holiday must be allowed.

There are a few other exceptions of a similar nature, but the principle is always the same, namely, that holidays lost must be allowed for at other times. In undertakings subject to interruptions due to the inclemency of the weather, interruptions occurring in any month may be counted as holidays in that month.

There have been a number of decrees issued in pursuance of the Act relating to its enforcement.

SWITZERLAND.

There is no Federal legislation regulating shop hours. In some cantons, the hours of work of women shop assistants are regulated indirectly, as follows:

Lucerne.—Women must be allowed a night's rest of at least eight hours, and a half-holiday of at least five hours every week.

Glarus.—A night's rest of at least nine hours must be allowed.

Appenzell-on-Rhine, St. Gall, and Solothurn.—A night's rest of at least ten hours has to be allowed.

Aargau.—Women must be allowed, in addition to the regular breaks for meals, a rest of at least one hour during the day, and also a night's rest of at least ten hours.

Nidwalden.—Women may be employed usually only until 8 p.m., and not before 6 a.m., but they may work until 9 p.m. if they are allowed at least one hour for supper. They must have a night's rest of ten hours, and their total weekly hours must not exceed sixty-five.

Basle Town.—The prescribed working day for women in general is ten hours, or nine hours on Saturdays and eves of festivals. In shops, the hours of saleswomen, over seventeen, may amount to eleven hours, taken between 6 a.m. and 9 p.m. At least one-and-a-half hour's leisure must be allowed about the middle of the day. Saleswomen, living in, may have this period reduced to one hour.

Berne.—Women may be employed in serving customers up to 8 o'clock in the evening, and they must be allowed a night's rest of at least ten hours.

In addition to the requirements of the Federal Law, there are special cantonal regulations for Sunday rest. In the canton of Zurich on Sundays

and festivals the employment of workmen and officials in industrial, commercial, and mechanical trades is forbidden. Exceptions are made, partly by official permission granted on the application of the parties concerned, or by that of the local authorities. They are, generally speaking, for limited work on Sundays, and are granted on similar grounds to those granted by the Federal Law in the case of bakers, butchers, &c. Hairdressers' shops are closed on some of the principal festivals for the whole day; on others at 9 a.m.; on Sundays at 11. Hairdressers' assistants are entitled to one free afternoon in each week.

The regulation of Sunday labour in watering places is in the hands of the commune. On the assumption that they are urgently required, shops dealing in necessaries may be open on Sundays till 9 a.m., and again from 10-30 till 12, and from 6 to 8. In communes where there are more than one chemist's shop, only as many may remain open on Sundays as are thought necessary by the sanitary department.

For assistants in photograph shops, in those for the sale of daily necessities, in pastrycooks' shops, bakehouses, shops for the sale of non-alcoholic drinks and fruit as well as in tobacconists' shops, stalls at railway stations, and chemists, every third Sunday at least must be entirely free. In those weeks in which they obtain no Sunday rest one afternoon should be given. Offering goods for sale in private houses on days of rest is forbidden. How far it is permitted in open places and streets is decided by the communal authorities.

Provisions for Sunday rest are somewhat similar in other cantons.

RUSSIA.

Towards the end of 1906, an Imperial Order of the Ministerial Council, regulating the normal period of rest for assistants in shops and commercial establishments, was issued.

The Order is too long to reproduce here in full, and we can therefore note only a few of its chief provisions.

It is decreed that business shall not be carried on for more than twelve hours in twenty-four in any kind of shop and commercial establishment, whether under stationary conditions at markets and fairs, or by hawkers, and in ambulatory businesses, nor yet in connection with the sale of intoxicating liquor in the open air (whether retailed by private traders, or from the State liquor shops).

Establishments for the sale of articles of food and drink to be consumed on the premises, including public houses, taverns, together with bathing establishments and bathrooms, shall not be kept open for more than fifteen hours in any twenty-four. Within this period the sale of the prime necessaries of life and of tobacco and smoking requisites by hawkers, and on movable stalls, may be carried on.

Business, and the employment of assistants in connection therewith, may be carried on for two hours in any twenty-four above the twelve hours limit stated above, but not on more than forty days in the year, except in cases where the assistants consent to work longer, and for extra pay

Assistants in shops, commercial establishments, warehouses, counting houses, hotels, and restaurants, which remain open for more

than eight hours in any twenty-four are allowed breaks for meals amounting altogether to not less than two hours in the day. The distribution of the breaks shall be arranged by the occupier in agreement with the staff.

By an Amendment of the Order in September, 1907, it was provided that the first day of the Easter Festival, Holy Trinity Sunday, and Christmas Day, shall be whole holidays in all circumstances. Originally Section 5 of the Order provided for prohibition of business on Sundays, but this was replaced in 1907 by a new Section allowing public bodies to make regulations for exceptions on Sundays and the twelve holy days (saints days in the Greek Church). The period of employment on Sundays is, however, not to exceed five hours.

The discussion of a Bill, introduced by the Government, embodying the terms of the aforementioned Order, was begun just lately in the Russian Duma.

AUSTRIA.

Act respecting the duration of the period of employment and the closing of shops in commercial establishments and allied businesses. Dated, 14th January, 1910.

Workmen in commercial establishments, in the carrying trade, and in places of sale attached to manufacturing firms shall be allowed an uninterrupted period of at least eleven hours rest after the daily period of employment. For carters in the carrying trade the uninterrupted period of rest must amount to at least ten hours.

During the period of employment employés

shall be allowed a midday break. The said midday break may be allowed for all employés in the establishment at one and the same time or in shifts, and if the afternoon period of employment amounts to more than four hours, and if the employés take their midday meal off the premises in which the business is carried on, such break must amount to at least one-hour-and-a-half, and, otherwise, to at least one hour.

In those trades where the sale of goods is effected in premises (shops) open to customers, these premises, together with the counting-houses and storerooms appertaining to the same, shall be kept closed from 8 o'clock in the evening till 5 o'clock in the morning. Provided that in the case of shops for the sale of food, the premises, together with the counting-houses and storerooms appertaining to the same, may be kept open until 9 o'clock in the evening.

Customers who are already in the shop at the closing hour may still be served.

The provincial authority may, after consultation with the chambers of commerce and industry of the communes concerned and also with the governing bodies of the guilds* and committees† of assistants affected, issue orders

* These guilds are compulsory organisations, mostly for small undertakings (not only distributive), including both employers and workmen. They do not, it is reported, work very efficaciously, so that the consultation of a guild is probably not to be regarded as anything exceedingly valuable.

† Miss Sanger writes: "I am not sure whether the employés' committees are part of the guild, or whether they are committees organised in particular establishments, such as frequently exist in large firms in Germany, and probably in Austria also. In any case, it would not be like consulting a trade union."

that in individual communes, or in certain defined portions of the same, either during the whole year, or during certain defined periods or on certain specified days, shops shall be closed at an earlier hour to be fixed between 7 and 8 or 9 p.m. as the case may be, or that shops shall be opened at a later hour than 5 o'clock a.m.

Such order may apply to all establishments in general or to particular branches of trade

On market days the premises mentioned in paragraph three may be opened for the purchase and sale of the staple articles of the market in question, simultaneously with the beginning of the market.

In the premises mentioned in paragraph three, seats shall be provided for the employés.

The provisions of paragraph one concerning the minimum period of rest for employés, or, as the case may be, the prospective orders concerning the closing of shops contemplated in paragraphs three and four shall not apply :—

(1) To work connected with stocktaking ;

(2) To the removal or re-organisation of the business ;

(3) To attendance at markets ;

(4) To work which must be undertaken without delay in order to avoid damage to goods, or in other such emergencies ;

(5) In addition on not more than thirty days in the year.

Where in the cases mentioned under (1) to (5) the minimum period of rest is reduced, it shall be sufficient to give notice to the industrial

authorities; in the case mentioned under (4) such notification may even be made subsequently within twenty-four hours.

Notwithstanding, in the case mentioned under (5) the period during which shops must be closed is also to be reduced, the exceptional closing hours and also the days on which shops are to be closed at an exceptional hour shall be determined by the industrial authority of first instance either generally or for particular branches of trade and particular localities, after consultation with governing bodies of the guilds and committees of assistants affected.

In particular watering-places where it is usual for business to be specially brisk in the evening, the provisions with respect to the minimum period of rest of employés or with respect to the closing of shops, as the case may be, may be wholly or partially suspended during the season by order of the Minister of Commerce in agreement with the Minister of the Interior after consultation with the Chamber of Commerce and Industry concerned, and also with the governing bodies of the guilds and committees of assistants affected.

Employés shall have the right to suitable special remuneration in respect of any extension of the period of employment.

During the time when the premises mentioned in paragraph three must be closed no goods shall be sold by hawkers or on the streets, except in so far as exceptions may be permitted by the industrial authority with respect to the sale of goods on the street.

The Act came into force on April 14th, 1910.

DENMARK.

By an Act (No. 163) dated June 19th, 1908, it is provided (section I.) that buying and selling in streets, markets, and open places, and in shops or places of sale, and the exercise of hairdressers' trade, shall not be allowed between 8 p.m. and 4 a.m., except between 8 and 11 p.m. on Saturdays. Subject to this exception the said shops are to be closed from 8 p.m. until 4 a.m. During the period between May 1st and October 1st the authorities may allow the closing hour to be fixed later.

Notwithstanding, customers actually in the shops at the hour prescribed for closing may be served for not more than a quarter of an hour after the said closing hour.

All provisions of the Act of April 22nd, 1908, (No. 134) relating to public rest on National Church Holidays and on Constitution Day, which contain stricter requirements than those contained in the present Act remain in force.

The provisions of Section I. do not apply to chemists' shops. The Minister of Justice, however, has the right to issue regulations respecting the articles which may be sold in such shops after the general closing hour. Similarly, the provisions of Section I. do not apply to the sale of newspapers and books at railway stations, and to places where refreshments are sold with the sanction of the police, nor to bakers' and confectioners' shops, which may be kept open later for the sale of food for consumption on the spot. In certain towns, the authorities may allow dealers in cigars and tobacco to sell such goods, but none other, from 8 to 11 p.m., but during that period they

are not allowed to employ any assistants other than their wives and children.

The Act will be brought up for revision before the end of the financial year 1912-13.

Australia and New Zealand.

Legislation in connection with the early closing of shops in Australasia dates from 1885, when clauses dealing tentatively with this question were inserted in the Factories and Shops Act of Victoria of that year. There has been a steady increase in this kind of legislation since the year named above, and now there is no State in Australasia without some regulation of shop hours. In Queensland and Victoria the Acts form part of those dealing with factories. In West Australia, New South Wales, South Australia, and New Zealand the Acts are separate. The New South Wales Act (1899) is the most important Shop Act in Australia. It derived its root principles from the Act of Western Australia of 1897, and was followed in 1900 by Acts, similar in principle and in general outline, in Queensland and in South Australia.

In New South Wales shops are divided into three classes, "scheduled," "mixed," and all others. The "scheduled" shops are those which minister to the immediate and urgent needs of the community, and these are permitted a later closing hour. Assistants, however, must not be employed in these shops for more than sixty hours per week, excluding meal times. In the "mixed" shops two kinds

of trade are carried on, one being within and the other without the business of shops placed on the schedule. Shops which do not come under these two heads are required to close at six o'clock, and the principle of compulsory closing has worked from the first with a minimum of friction.

The New South Wales legal provisions include also the payment of a minimum wage and overtime and tea money. It is required that no workman or shop assistant shall be employed unless in receipt of a weekly wage of at least four shillings, irrespective of any amount earned as overtime. Where a workman or shop assistant, being a male under sixteen years of age or a female, works overtime, his employer, unless specially exempted, is required to pay him not less than threepence for every hour or portion of an hour of the overtime worked; and where a workman or shop assistant, being a male under sixteen years of age, or a female, is required by his employer to work overtime on any day, the employer is required on such day to pay him a sum of not less than sixpence as tea money.

Assistants may be employed overtime for a period not exceeding three hours on twelve days in each half-year; but not upon the late day, or upon the half-holiday.

In New Zealand the Acts (1904 and 1905) fix the legal hours of employment for all assistants at fifty-two per week excluding meal hours, and closing hours are fixed by local requisition. The New Zealand Acts include provisions relating to wages. Every person who is employed in shops must be paid not less than 5s. a week, and an annual increment

of not less than 3s. a week for every year of service up to twenty years of age. The Acts also contain clauses making compulsory provision of seats for female assistants, and laying down rules for sanitation.

Owing to the greater elasticity of the law applying to small shops, it is said that many of the administrative difficulties found in Australia are avoided. The amount of overtime that may be worked is limited, and for those who earn less than £200 a year overtime rates at time-and-a-half are prescribed.

NATAL.

In Natal an Act was passed in 1905 providing for the closing of all shops, with certain exemptions, on all Sundays and public holidays during the whole day; on every Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday at half-past five o'clock in the afternoon; on every Friday at ten o'clock in the evening; on every Saturday at two o'clock in the afternoon. Customers who have entered a shop before the closing time may be served within a reasonable time, not in any case exceeding half-an-hour after the closing time, providing that the shop doors are closed. The working hours of all shop assistants are limited to fifty-four a week.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I. TABLE A.

SHOWING THE LOWEST AND HIGHEST WAGES PAID TO MALE SHOP MANAGERS AND ASSISTANTS OVER TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE, IN FIFTY-THREE CO-OPERATIVE DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES IN LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE, EARLY IN 1910.

Society No.	GROCERY DEPARTMENT.				BUTCHERY DEPARTMENT.				BOOTS, DRAPERY, CLOTHING, AND FURNISHING DEPARTMENTS.			
	Shop Managers.		Assistants over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.	
	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.
1 ...	30/-	40/-	24/-	28/-	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	24/-	24/-
2 ...	30/-	37/-	24/-	28/-	28/-	30/-	..	..	30/-	30/-	26/-	29/-
3 ...	38/-	50/-	25/-	35/-	30/-	..	..	..	..	..	25/-	..
4 ...	30/-	..	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 ...	30/-	33/-	24/-	..	24/-	24/-	..	..	28/-	28/-	..	..
6 ...	30/-	38/-	24/-	28/-	24/-	30/-	24/-	26/-	24/-	30/-	24/-	24/-
7 ...	25/-	32/-	18/-	26/-	..	26/-	..	..	..	..	21/-	28/-
8 ...	30/-	34/-	24/-	28/-	26/-	31/-	..	..	30/-	36/-	24/-	28/-
9 ...	35/-	37/-	24/-	30/-	24/-	31/-	..	..	30/-	32/-	24/-	30/-
10 ...	33/-	..	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11 ...	32/-	32/-	24/-	28/-	..	30/-	24/-	24/-	..	..	26/-	26/-
12 ...	29/-	30/-	26/-	26/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
13 ...	30/-	..	24/-	..	30/-	..	..	..	..	..	30/-	30/-

14 ...	32/-	50/-	24/-	30/-	24/-	33/-	24/-	28/-	34/-	34/-	24/-	35/-
15 ...	24/-	28/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24/-	25/-
16 ...	32/-	32/-	..	26/-	..	..	..	..	25/-	30/-	..	..
17 ...	35/-	38/-	24/-	30/-	30/-	37/-	24/-	35/-	27/-	37/-	24/-	40/-
18 ...	34/-	..	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
19 ...	30/-	30/-	24/-	26/-	..	..	26/-	26/-	..	..	..	..
20 ...	33/-	40/-	24/-	28/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
21 ...	30/-	37/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	30/-	..	24/	..
22 ...	30/-	34/-	24/-	..	25/-	..	24/-	24/-	..	..	24/-	28/-
23 ...	36/-	36/-	28/-	28/-	30/-	33/-	..	..	30/-	32/-	24/-	28/-
24 ...	30/-	38/-	24/-	27/-	28/-	32/-	..	..	..	..	..	..
25 ...	30/-	32/-	21/-	27/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26 ...	31/-	37/-	24/-	28/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27 ...	..	..	24/-	26/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	26/-	26/-
28 ...	28/-	35/-	24/-	28/-	24/-	31/-	24/-	24/-	..	..	24/-	..
29 ...	..	..	22/-	24/-	..	..	..	..	26/-	30/-	24/-	24/-
30 ...	30/-	36/-	24/-	28/-	30/-	..	..	..	30/-	..	24/-	..
31 ...	32/-	42/-	24/-	30/-	24/-	35/-	24/-	..	30/-	36/-	24/-	37/-
32 ...	28/-	34/-	..	..	24/-	29/-	..	..	28/-	28/-	30/-	30/-
33 ...	26/-	38/-	24/-	26/-	28/-	30/-	..	..	..	..	..	..
34 ...	30/-	..	24/-	..	30/-	..	24/-	.	30/-	..	24/-	..
35 ...	32/-	42/-	24/-	28/-	26/-	37/-	26/-	26/-	37/-	37/-	24/-	40/-
36 ...	30/-	32/-	24/-	28/-	..	35/-	24/-	24/-	..	..	..	..
37 ...	30/-	34/-	24/-	25/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	27/-	30/-

APPENDIX I. TABLE A.—*Continued.*

Society No.	Grocery Department.				Butchery Department.				Boots, Drapery, Clothing, and Furnishing Departments.			
	Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.	
	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.
38 ...	..	28/6	26/6	26/6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
39 ...	30/-	30/-	..	28/-	25/-	25/-	..	..	..	..	..	..
40 ...	33/-	38/-	24/	28/-	..	..	26/-	26/-	32/-	32/-	25/-	26/-
41 ...	30/-	38/-	24/-	28/-	26/-	32/-	..	..	28/-	35/-	24/-	35/-
42 ...	35/-	..	24/-	28/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	24/-	37/-
43 ...	25/-	30/-	23/-	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
44 ...	25/-	..	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45 ...	30/-	38/-	24/-	28/-	..	30/-	..	..	..	30/-	24/-	28/-
46 ...	30/-	34/-	24/-	28/-	..	..	26/-	28/-	..	..	26/-	26/-
47 ...	30/-	..	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
48 ...	32/-	40/-	24/-	28/-	24/-	..	24/-	..	..	..	21/-	21/-
49 ...	26/-	29/6	18/-	26/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
50 ...	30/-	38/-	24/-	28/-	30/-	..	..	..	..	..	25/-	..
51. ..	28/-	42/-	24/-	27/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
52 ...	32/	40/-	24/	30/-	30/-	36/-	..	..	32/-	36/-	24/-	32/-
53 ...	30/	33/-	24/-	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Aver.	30/5	36/	23/10	27/7	26/9	31/3	24/7	26/5	29/6	32/6	24/7	29/6

APPENDIX I. TABLE B.

SHOWING THE LOWEST AND HIGHEST WAGES PAID TO MALE SHOP MANAGERS AND ASSISTANTS OVER TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE IN FORTY-TWO CO-OPERATIVE DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES IN DURHAM, NORTHUMBERLAND, AND CUMBERLAND, EARLY IN 1910

Society No.	GROCERY DEPARTMENT.				BUTCHERY DEPARTMENT.				BOOTS, DRAPERY, CLOTHING, AND FURNISHING DEPARTMENTS.			
	Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.	
	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.
1 ...	30/-	43/6	27/-	27/-	..	35/-	28/-	30/-	30/-	31/-	..	..
2 ...	36/-	36/-	26/-	30/-	..	..	25/-	25/	..	..	..	..
3 ...	45/-	49/-	27/-	34/-	..	..	25/-	35/-	34/-	34/-	27/-	29/-
4 ...	38/-	38/-	24/-	32/-	30/-	30/-	30/-	30/-	..	..	25/	29/-
5 ...	40/-	40/-	27/-	35/-	..	..	30/-	32/	..	..	29/	29/-
6 ...	40/-	55/-	24/-	34/-	30/-	32/-	..	..	32/-	55/-	24/-	34/-
7 ...	45/-	63/-	24/-	32/6	36/-	55/-	26/-	32/	30/-	50/-	22/	30/-
8 ...	35/-	53/-	30/-	32/-	34/-	..	25/-	31/-	33/-	..	25/-	31/-
9 ...	..	..	28/-	36/-	..	..	24/-	36/-	..	..	..	..
10 ...	30/-	41/-	28/-	30/-	..	..	31/-	31/-	30/	35/-	..	..
11 ...	..	41/-	24/-	32/-	..	..	..	37/4	..	36/-	..	..
12 ...	38/-	45/-	27/6	33/-	38/6	43/-	27/6	33/-	..	..	26/-	37/-

APPENDIX I. TABLE B.—*Continued.*

Society No.	Grocery Department.				Butchery Department.				Boots, Drapery, Clothing, and Furnishing Departments.			
	Shop Managers.		Assistants over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.	
	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.
13 ...	34/3	38/6	20/-	31/-	..	..	30/-	32/-	..	..	17/-	33/-
14 ...	..	40/-	20/-	34/6	..	..	..	33/-	..	..	..	33/-
15 ...	29/-	42/-	28/-	34/-	..	..	28/-	32/-	..	..	27/-	31/-
16 ...	..	42/6	24/-	32/-	..	..	29/-	30/-	..	..	32/-	32/-
17 ...	42/-	45/-	24/-	32/-	29/-	38/-	26/-	26/-	..	..	25/-	31/-
18 ...	..	..	28/-	32/-	..	..	28/-	28/-	..	..	..	..
19 ...	35/-	37/-	27/-	33/-	..	..	25/-	36/-	..	..	26/-	28/-
20 ...	43/-	47/-	24/-	33/-	..	..	24/-	33/-	36/-	..	..	..
21 ...	38/-	45/-	24/-	31/-	..	..	28/-	36/-	38/-	38/-	30/-	30/-
22 ...	..	34/-	25/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23 ...	37/-	41/-	25/-	35/-	..	..	26/-	31/-	31/-	31/-	27/-	29/-
24 ...	35/-	36/-	24/-	31/-	33/-	33/-	25/-	27/-	29/-	34/-	24/-	24/-
25 ...	35/-	35/-	24/-	31/-	..	..	27/-	30/-	27/-	33/-	25/-	32/-
26 ...	30/-	..	24/-	28/-	35/-	35/-	..	..	31/-	38/-	..	..
27 ...	30/-	32/-	24/-	24/-	..	..	26/-	30/-	..	..	..	..
28 ...	40/-	42/-	19/-	33/-	34/-	34/-	27/-	32/-	..	35/-	..	..

APPENDIX I. TABLE B.—*Continued.*

29 ...	37/-	40/6	29/-	31/-	30/-	40/-	29/-	..	32/-	50/-	29/-	35/-
30 ...	28/6	54/-	26/6	34/-	..	31/6	28/6	31/6	27/6	33/-	26/6	26/6
31 ...	36/-	36/-	25/-	33/-	32/-	32/-	30/-	31/-	..	..	..	..
32 ...	33/2	37/-	28/2	33/6	40/-	44/7	27/3	30/5	40/-	44/7	24/6	27/4
33 ...	28/-	42/-	24/-	25/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
34 ...	44/-	46/-	26/-	37/-	..	..	30/-	34/-	..	..	26/-	34/-
35 ...	33/-	43/-	22/-	26/-	34/6	54/-	31/-	31/-	34/-	38/-	21/6	21/6
36 ...	40/-	48/-	28/-	33/-	36/-	36/-	28/-	34/-	31/-	38/-	28/-	34/-
37 ...	32/6	45/-	24/-	30/-	30/-	36/-	24/-	35/-	30/-	35/-	24/-	32/6
38 ...	33/-	35/-	25/-	37/-	..	..	25/-	27/-	35/-	45/-	28/-	28/-
39 ...	35/6	35/6	20/-	30/-	37/6	37/6	26/-	28/-	35/-	35/-	..	..
40 ...	30/-	37/-	24/-	29/-	..	..	24/-	32/-	26/-	32/-	24/-	29/-
41 ...	30/-	30/	24/-	26/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	24/-	30/-
42 ...	30/-	36/-	24/-	32/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	24/-	24/-
Aver.	35/5	41/8	25/-	31/8	33/9	38/-	27/2	31/6	32/-	38/1	25/7	30/1

APPENDIX I. TABLE C.

SHOWING THE LOWEST AND HIGHEST WAGES PAID TO MALE SHOP MANAGERS AND ASSISTANTS OVER TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE, IN FORTY-SIX CO-OPERATIVE DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES IN YORKSHIRE, EARLY IN 1910.

Society No.	GROCERY DEPARTMENT.				BUTCHERY DEPARTMENT.				BOOTS, DRAPERY, CLOTHING, AND FURNISHING DEPARTMENTS.			
	Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.	
	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.
1 ...	32/-	40/-	23/-	28/-	..	..	23/-	..	..	..	23/-	28/-
2 ...	..	..	24/-	32/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 ...	28/-	32/-	24/-	28/-	..	34/-	24/-	..	..	..	..	..
4 ...	28/-	42/-	22/-	26/-	..	..	22/-	24/-	..	..	22/-	22/-
5 ...	35/-	46/-	25/-	28/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6 ...	26/-	32/-	..	..	..	..	..	27/-	..	..	..	..
7 ...	33/-	..	24/-	28/-	30/-	..	24/-	30/-	30/-	..	24/-	30/-
8 ...	..	..	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9 ...	29/-	40/-	24/-	28/-	24/-	36/-	24/-	24/-	34/-	37/-	24/-	37/
10 ...	..	..	..	26/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11 ...	..	30/-	..	21/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
12 ...	30/-	42/-	25/-	26/-	30/-	..	..	..	28/-	..	..	..

13 ...	30/-	42/-	24/-	28/-	24/-	32/-	24/-	28/-	32/-	34/-	24/-	32/-
14 ...	32/-	..	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15 ...	26/-	31/	24/-	27/-	..	28/-	..	..	..	..	..	..
16 ...	30/-	35/-	24/-	27/-	..	30/-	26/-	29/-	28/-	28/-	..	32/-
17 ...	..	..	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18 ...	30/-	..	24/-	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
19 ...	34/	47/6	24/-	32/-	..	..	..	..	30/-	..	..	..
20 ...	30/-	35/-	24/-	28/-	24/-	30/	24/-	..	..	..	25/-	28/-
21 ...	32/-	43/-	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 ...	32/-	..	24/	26/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23 ...	30/	..	24/-	28/-	26/-	..	24/	..	30/-	..	24/-	28/-
24 ...	..	..	..	..	..	..	25/	25/-	..	..	..	..
25 ...	..	30/	24/	29/	..	..	..	26/-	..	..	..	..
26 ...	..	..	24/	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27 ...	..	..	24/-	28/	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
28 ...	..	..	24/-	32/	..	..	30/-	30/-	..	..	20/-	21/-
29 ...	26/	..	28/	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23/	..
30 ...	26/	26/	..	..	28/-	28/-	..	..	..	..	..	..
31 ...	..	..	24/-	25/-	..	..	..	..	28/	28/	..	..
32 ..	30/	36/	26/-	..	..	..	30/	30/	..	..	..	..
33 ...	30/-	45/-	24/-	29/	29/-	..	26/-	27/-	..	..	25/	..
34 ...	..	30/	29/-	30/	..	30/	..	..	32/-	32/-	..	..
35 ...	30/-	..	25/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

APPENDIX I. TABLE C.—*Continued.*

Society No.	Grocery Department.				Butchery Department.				Boots, Drapery, Clothing, and Furnishing Departments.			
	Shop Managers.		Assistants over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.	
	Min.	Max	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.
36 ...	28/-	32/-	24/-	26/-	..	35/-	..	..	..	..	26/-	28/-
37 ...	..	..	24/-	28/-	..	..	..	24/-	..	..	..	..
38 ...	26/-	28/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28/-	..	..
39 ...	34/-	40/-	24/-	28/-	26/-	30/-	17/-	17/-	34/-	34/-	..	27/-
40 ...	30/-	37/6	24/-	28/-	24/-	32/-	23/-	32/-	..	..	24/-	30/-
41 ...	25/-	30/-	..	..	..	..	25/-	25/-	..	..	..	..
42 ...	30/-	35/-	24/-	27/-	24/-	35/-	24/-	30/-	24/-	28/-	24/-	33/-
43 ...	32/-	32/-	24/-	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
44 ...	32/-	34/-	26/-	30/-	32/-	32/-	26/-	26/-	32/-	32/-	..	..
45 ...	..	..	24/-	28/	30/-	30/-	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 ...	34/-	34/-	24/-	28/-	32/-	32/-	..	..	..	..	..	..
Aver.	30/-	36/-	24/4	27/7	27/4	31/7	24/6	26/8	30/2	31/3	23/8	28/11

APPENDIX I. TABLE D.

SHOWING THE LOWEST AND HIGHEST WAGES PAID TO MALE SHOP MANAGERS AND ASSISTANTS OVER TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE, IN TWENTY-SIX CO-OPERATIVE DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES IN NOTTS, DERBY, LEICESTER, NORTHANTS, STAFFS, WARWICK, WORCESTER, AND SHROPSHIRE, EARLY IN 1910.

Society No.	GROCERY DEPARTMENT.				BUTCHERY DEPARTMENT.				BOOTS, DRAPERY, CLOTHING, AND FURNISHING DEPARTMENTS.			
	Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.	
	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.
1 ...	30/-	..	26/-	..	30/-	..	26/-	..	30/-	..	26/-	..
2 ...	32/-	36/-	24/-	30/-	..	30/-	24/-	..	..	..	..	..
3 ...	26/-	38/-	24/-	28/-	30/-	38/-	24/-	28/-	..	..	..	..
4 ...	32/	35/-	24/-	28/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 ...	34/-	40/-	24/-	34/-	..	..	..	..	27/-	30/-	24/-	32/-
6 ...	26/-	35/-	22/-	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7 ...	26/-	..	..	21/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8 ...	30/	40/-	24/-	27/-	30/-	..	..	..	30/-	..	..	..
9 ...	30/-	..	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10 ...	30/-	32/-	23/	28/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	24/-	26/
11 ...	30/-	45/-	25/-	30/-	..	32/6	..	28/-	..	..	..	25/-
12 ...	26/-	30/-	26/-	30/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	28/-	28/-

APPENDIX I. TABLE D.—*Continued.*

Society No.	GROCERY DEPARTMENT.				BUTCHERY DEPARTMENT.				BOOTS, DRAPERY, CLOTHING, AND FURNISHING DEPARTMENTS.			
	Shop Managers.		Assistants over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.	
	Min	Max	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.
13 ...	..	30/-	..	24/-	..	..	16/-	28/-	..	..	..	..
14 ...	40/-	40/-	22/-	30/	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15 ...	30/-	38/-	24/-	26/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	26/-	26/-
16 ...	30/-	35/-	24/-	24/-	24/-	30/-	..	..	33/-	33/-	..	..
17 ...	30/-	42/-	21/	30/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18 ...	30/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
19 ...	26/	32/	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20 ...	30/	41/-	24/-	28/-	..	..	24/-	32/-	..	..	24/-	35/-
21 ...	30/	..	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 ...	30/-	31/-	24/-	28/-	..	..	..	..	30/-	30/-	..	..
23 ...	28/-	37/-	24/-	28/-	..	..	..	..	35/-	35/-	..	..
24 ...	30/-	..	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25 ...	30/-	..	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26 ...	..	..	..	..	..	..	24/-	24/	..	..	..	..
Aver.	29/10	36/6	23/10	27/8	28/6	32/7	23/	28/-	30/10	32/-	25/4	28/8

APPENDIX I. TABLE E.

SHOWING THE LOWEST AND HIGHEST WAGES PAID TO MALE SHOP MANAGERS AND ASSISTANTS OVER TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE, IN FORTY-SEVEN CO-OPERATIVE DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES IN THE SOUTHERN AND SOUTH-WESTERN COUNTIES, EARLY IN 1910.

Society No.	GROCERY DEPARTMENT.				BUTCHERY DEPARTMENT.				BOOTS, DRAPERY, CLOTHING, AND FURNISHING DEPARTMENTS.			
	Shop Managers.		Assistants over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.	
	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.
1 ...	..	..	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 ...	..	..	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	35/-	35/-
3 ...	..	..	20/-	20/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 ...	33/6	48/6	24/-	33/6	..	..	..	..	40/-	40/-	..	36/-
5 ...	30/-	..	24/-	26/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6 ...	25/-	28/	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28/-	16/	18/
7 ...	..	..	..	31/-	..	31/-	..	..	..	31/-	26/-	30/
8 ...	26/-	33/-	22/-	30/-	..	..	..	..	30/-	35/-	..	..
9 ...	30/-	32/-	24/-	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10 ...	30/-	30/-	..	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11 ...	..	..	22/-	30/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
12 ...	..	32/-	20/-	26/-	..	..	..	..	26/-	32/-	..	24/-

APPENDIX I. TABLE E.—*Continued.*

Society No.	Grocery Department.				Butchery Department.				Boots, Drapery, Clothing, and Furnishing Departments.			
	Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.	
	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.
13 ...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	37/6	37/6	..	..
14 ...	24/	..	..	..	25/-	25/-	..	..	23/-	..	22/-	..
15 ...	40/-	55/-	28/-	32/6	31/-	42/-	24/-	30/-	26/	63/-	24/-	40/-
16 ...	..	30/-	24/-	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	32/-	..	..
17 ...	37/6	40/-	24/-	..	32/6	37/-	29/6	29/6	30/-	40/-	..	..
18 ...	20/-	30/-	..	..	30/-	..	22/-	22/-	..	..	..	..
19 ...	..	..	24/-	28/-	..	..	..	..	26/-	26/-	..	..
20 ...	43/-	43/-	25/-	28/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
21 ...	..	..	25/-	27/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 ...	27/-	27/-	24/-	24/-	34/-	34/-	24/-	24/-	..	..	..	..
23 ...	30/-	..	24/-	..	..	..	24/-	..	..	..	..	..
24 ...	..	..	28/-	28/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25 ...	..	..	20/-	20/-	30/-	30/-	..	..	..	..	..	..
26 ...	30/-	32/-	25/-	27/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27 ...	35/-	..	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
28 ...	30/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

APPENDIX I. TABLE E.—*Continued.*

29 ...	38/-	38/-	30/-	31/-	..	..	30/-	30/-	..	..	..	..
30 ...	30/-	..	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
31 ...	..	..	24/-	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
32 ...	30/-	33/-	24/-	32/-	..	..	28/-	28/-	44/-	44/-	26/ -	35/-
33. ..	..	..	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
34 ...	34/-	60/-	20/-	32/-	30/-	37/6	20/-	30/-	..	..	20/-	30/-
35 ...	30/-	42/-	24/-	28/-	..	..	..	..	30/-	30/-	..	..
36 ...	30/-	50/-	24/-	28/-	24/-	30/-	24/-	32/-	..	..	20/-	34/-
37 ...	32/-	60/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24/-	32/-
38 ...	..	..	24/-	26/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
39 ...	32/6	42/-	24/-	30/-	40/-	40/-	24/-	24/-	32/6	35/-	30/-	30/-
40 ...	40/-	60/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
41 ...	28/-	32/-	22/-	28/-	..	..	..	..	25/-	34/	..	..
42 ...	35/-	42/-	24/-	32/-	..	..	..	..	30/-	35/-	26/-	..
43 ...	30/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
44 ...	34/-	34/-	25/-	31/-	33/-	33/-	28/-	28/-	30/-	36/-	..	..
45 ...	37/6	44/-	24/-	28/-	37/6	40/-	24/-	27/-	28/-	28/-	24/-	24/-
46 ...	36/-	50/-	24/-	32/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
47 ...	30/-	33/-	24/-	24/-	..	..	..	..	30/-	30/-	..	..
Aver.	31/10	43/-	23/11	27/9	31/6	34/6	25/2	27/8	30/6	35/4	24/5	30/8

APPENDIX I. TABLE F.

SHOWING THE LOWEST AND HIGHEST WAGES PAID TO MALE SHOP MANAGERS AND ASSISTANTS OVER TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE, IN TWENTY-SEVEN CO-OPERATIVE DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES IN SCOTLAND, EARLY IN 1910.

Society No.	Grocery Department.				Butchery Department.				Boots, Drapery, Clothing, and Furnishing Departments.			
	Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.		Shop Managers.		Assistants Over 21 Years of Age.	
	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.
1 ...	..	32/-	..	..	..	28/-	..	..	..	30/-	..	..
2 ...	30/-	38/-	..	..	30/-	30/-	..	..	30/-	30/-	..	..
3 ...	30/-	38/-	24/-	27/-	26/-	32/-	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 ...	..	..	26/-	34/-	..	..	24/-	30/-	..	..	24/-	32/-
5 ...	32/-	35/-	23/-	26/-	..	..	20/-	29/-	..	..	..	..
6 ...	30/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..
7 ...	36/-	42/-	24/-	32/-	..	..	26/-	32/-	34/-	34/-	..	..
8 ...	30/-	38/-	24/-	28/-	26/-	38/-	..	..	40/-	42/-	..	..
9 ...	27/-	32/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10 ...	32/-	34/-	24/-	27/-	32/-	32/-	24/-	27/-	..	.	..	..
11 ...	34/-	45/-	24/-	29/-	30/-	32/-	28/-	30/-	30/-	30/-	26/-	26/-
12 ...	30/-	35/-	24/-	28/-	..	..	28/-	28/-	..	..	26/-	26/-

13 ...	35/-	42/	26/-	30/	..	40/-	26/-	30/-	35/-	40/-	28/-	30/-
14 ...	30/-	34/-	23/-	25/	..	..	..	..	..	..	23/-	23/
15 ...	32/-	40/-	20/-	30/-	32/-	34/-	20/-	37/-	34/-	34/-	20/-	31/
16 ...	30/-	38/-	24/-	27/	..	..	26/-	28/-	..	..	33/-	33/-
17 ...	34/-	45/	24/-	32/-	26/-	32/-	24/-	33/-	..	..	24/-	37/6
18 ...	33/-	50/	23/-	30/-	34/-	35/-	26/-	34/-	30/-	35/-	25/-	28/
19 ...	38/-	40/-	24/-	28/	..	..	..	..	35/-	35/-	..	..
20 ...	..	..	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
21 ...	..	40/-	24/-	28/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 ...	34/-	40/-	24/-	32/	34/-	39/-	24/-	32/-	..	..	..	..
23 ...	30/-	..	24/-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24 ...	41/-	42/-	23/-	31/-	..	..	25/-	33/-	32/-	34/-	..	..
25 ...	35/-	35/-	26/-	28/-	32/-	32/-	28/-	28/-	25/-	45/	..	..
26 ...	..	..	..	26/-	..	..	28/-	28/-	..	..	..	..
27 ...	..	..	21/-	30/-	..	..	24/-	30/-	..	..	21/-	21/-
Aver.	32/6	38/10	23/9	28/11	30/2	33/8	25/1	30/7	32/6	35/4	25/-	28/9

APPENDIX II. TABLE A.

SHOWING LOWEST AND HIGHEST WAGES PAID TO FEMALE SHOP WORKERS OVER AND UNDER 21 YEARS OF AGE, IN 32 CO-OPERATIVE DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES, IN LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE, EARLY IN 1910 :—

DRAPERY, MILLINERY, DRESSMAKING, & BOOTS DEPTS.

Society No.	Over 21 yeare of age.		Under 21 years of age.	
	Minimum.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Maximum.
1	17/-	23/-	—	—
2	16/-	20/-	5/-	15/-
3	12/-	32/-	5/-	12/-
4	19/-	28/-	5/-	10/-
5	—	—	5/-	—
6	22/-	28/-	—	—
7	22/-	27/-	5/-	17/-
8	18/-	22/6	7/-	16/-
9	13/-	13/-	—	—
10	24/-	—	—	—
11	20/-	20/-	9/-	16/-
12	25/-	25/-	6/-	8/-
13	—	—	—	—
14	—	—	12/-	12/-
15	16/-	16/-	—	—
16	—	21/-	—	—
17	—	—	5/-	—
18	—	22/-	7/-	—
19	18/-	20/-	—	—
20	24/-	25/-	5/-	—
21	15/-	30/-	2/6	—
22	25/-	25/-	6/-	—
23	20/-	24/-	—	—
24	15/-	21/-	—	—
25	15/-	22/-	—	—
26	18/-	18/-	—	—
27	22/-	26/-	10/-	10/-
28	24/-	30/-	—	—
29	12/-	25/-	—	—
30	16/-	22/6	—	—
31	21/-	27/6	—	—
32	19/-	19/-	10/-	10/-
Av'ges	18/9	23/5	6/6	12/7

APPENDIX II. TABLE B.

SHOWING LOWEST AND HIGHEST WAGES PAID TO FEMALE SHOPWORKERS OVER AND UNDER 21 YEARS OF AGE, IN 36 CO-OPERATIVE DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES, IN NORTHUMBERLAND, DURHAM, AND CUMBERLAND, EARLY IN 1910 :—

DRAPERY, MILLINERY, DRESSMAKING, & BOOTS DEPTS.

Society No.	Over 21 years of age.		Under 21 years of age.	
	Minimum.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Maximum.
1	—	14/-	—	—
2	15/-	16/-	5/-	6/-
3	—	18/-	—	—
4	8/-	26/-	—	—
5	—	12/-	—	—
6	30/-	34/-	9/-	12/-
7	15/-	19/-	6/-	—
8	25/-	28/-	9/-	18/-
9	—	25/-	—	—
10	12/-	14/-	—	—
11	12/-	33/-	—	—
12	—	—	8/-	10/-
13	—	—	—	15/-
14	17/-	24/-	—	—
15	10/-	24/6	—	—
16	13/-	32/-	5/-	10/-
17	14/-	18/-	—	—
18	—	12/-	—	—
19	—	—	—	—
20	11/6	14/6	10/-	—
21	14/-	16/6	—	—
22	22/-	30/-	—	—
23	10/-	12/-	—	8/-
24	12/-	16/-	—	—
25	10/-	12/-	—	—
26	—	17/-	—	—
27	10/-	24/-	—	—
28	12/-	16/-	7/-	7/-
29	11/-	20/-	—	—
30	10/-	25/-	—	—
31	—	—	10/-	—
32	16/-	—	—	—
33	12/-	32/-	2/6	—
34	9/-	11/-	—	—
35	14/6	21/6	—	—
36	14/-	26/-	6/-	13/-
Av'ges	13/10	20/9	7/-	11/-

APPENDIX II.

TABLE C.

SHOWING LOWEST AND HIGHEST WAGES PAID TO FEMALE SHOP WORKERS OVER AND UNDER 21 YEARS OF AGE IN 22 CO-OPERATIVE DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES IN YORKSHIRE, EARLY IN 1910:—

DRAPERY, MILLINERY, DRESSMAKING, & BOOTS DEPTS.

Society No.	Over 21 years of age.		Under 21 years of age.	
	Minimum.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Maximum.
1	16/-	18/-	6/-	—
2	20/-	—	—	—
3	20/-	—	14/-	—
4	14/-	28/-	—	—
5	19/-	21/-	—	10/-
6	16/-	20/-	—	—
7	17/-	27/-	3/-	—
8	17/-	—	—	—
9	7/-	13/-	—	—
10	15/-	23/-	2/6	12/-
11	20/-	—	—	—
12	14/-	17/-	—	—
13	17/-	27/6	2/-	12/-
14	—	22/-	—	12/-
15	—	—	4/-	10/-
16	17/6	17/6	—	—
17	—	16/-	—	—
18	16/-	28/-	—	—
19	20/-	22/-	—	—
20	15/-	20/-	7/-	—
21	18/-	21/-	2/6	—
22	20/-	—	—	—
Av'ges	16/9	21/4	5/1	11/2

APPENDIX II.

TABLE D.

SHOWING LOWEST AND HIGHEST WAGES PAID TO FEMALE SHOP WORKERS OVER AND UNDER 21 YEARS OF AGE, IN 15 CO-OPERATIVE DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES IN NOTTS, DERBY, LEICESTER, NORTHANTS, STAFFS, WARWICK, AND SHROPSHIRE, EARLY IN 1910:—

DRAPERY, MILLINERY, DRESSMAKING, & BOOTS DEPTS.

Society No.	Over 21 years of age.		Under 21 years of age.	
	Minimum.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Maximum.
1	17/-	20/-	—	—
2	20/-	20/-	—	—
3	15/-	20/-	—	—
4	17/-	17/-	6/-	12/-
5	10/-	25/-	—	—
6	11/-	11/-	—	—
7	15/-	15/-	—	—
8	13/-	13/-	—	—
9	15/-	17/-	—	—
10	20/-	20/-	—	—
11	14/-	21/-	7/-	—
12	18/-	18/-	5/-	—
13	11/-	16/-	7/-	10/-
14	18/-	18/-	—	—
15	10/-	20/-	—	—
Av'ges	14/11	18/-	6/3	11/-

APPENDIX II. TABLE E.

SHOWING LOWEST AND HIGHEST WAGES PAID TO FEMALE SHOP WORKERS OVER AND UNDER 21 YEARS OF AGE, IN 32 CO-OPERATIVE DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES, IN THE SOUTHERN AND SOUTH-WESTERN COUNTIES, EARLY IN 1910 :—

DRAPERY, MILLINERY, DRESSMAKING, & BOOTS DEPTS.

Society No.	Over 21 years of age.		Under 21 years of age.	
	Minimum.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Maximum.
1	—	17/-	3/6	—
2	—	15/-	4/-	—
3	—	15/-	—	—
4	—	15/-	2/6	—
5	—	20/-	—	—
6	—	22/-	—	6/-
7	18/-	18/-	10/-	10/-
8	—	—	20/-	20/-
8a	20/-	30/-	2/6	—
9	9/-	21/-	—	—
10	10/-	21/-	5/-	6/-
11	21/-	21/-	—	—
12	24/-	24/-	7/6	13/-
13	10/-	20/-	1/6	20/-
14	17/-	20/-	—	—
15	14/-	14/-	—	—
16	—	25/-	8/-	10/-
17	18/-	—	—	—
18	25/-	27/-	8/-	14/-
19	21/-	21/-	—	—
20	17/-	22/-	8/-	—
21	13/-	26/-	4/-	16/-
22	15/-	24/-	—	—
23	4/-	18/-	3/-	4/-
24	8/-	20/-	—	—
25	13/-	13/-	—	—
26	21/-	21/-	10/-	10/-
27	14/-	30/-	4/-	—
28	—	—	2/-	10/-
29	13/-	25/-	—	—
30	—	20/-	—	6/-
31	21/-	22/-	5/-	12/-
32	18/-	—	—	—
Av'ges	15/9	20/11	6/-	11/3

APPENDIX II.

TABLE F.

SHOWING LOWEST AND HIGHEST WAGES PAID TO FEMALE SHOP WORKERS OVER AND UNDER 21 YEARS OF AGE, IN 22 CO-OPERATIVE DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES IN SCOTLAND, EARLY IN 1910:—

DRAPERY, MILLINERY, DRESSMAKING, & BOOTS DEPTS.

Society No.	Over 21 years of age.		Under 21 years of age.	
	Minimum.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Maximum.
1	17/-	18/-	—	—
2	—	15/-	10/-	—
3	—	18/-	—	—
4	11/-	25/-	5/-	9/-
5	—	15/-	18/-	—
6	14/-	15/-	—	—
7	15/-	19/-	—	12/-
8	16/-	—	—	—
9	17/-	—	—	17/-
10	14/-	17/-	—	—
11	10/-	36/-	—	—
12	15/-	26/-	4/-	—
13	14/-	25/-	—	—
14	13/-	24/-	—	—
15	17/-	—	—	—
16	—	18/-	—	7/-
17	—	13/-	—	—
18	16/-	19/-	—	—
19	13/-	20/-	6/-	13/-
20	17/-	—	—	—
21	17/-	—	13/-	—
22	9/-	16/-	—	—
Av'ges	14/5	19/11	9/4	11/7

APPENDIX III.

National Union of Shop Assistants.

Table A.

Showing Total Amount of Out-of-Work Benefit Payments each Year, and the Average Annual Amount per Out-of-Work Member.

Year Ending December 31st.	Total Amount of Out-of-Work Benefit Payments during the Year.	Average Annual Amount per Member Out of Work.
	£	£ s. d.
1894	163	3 6 6
1895	215	3 11 8
1896	263	3 0 5
1897	337	3 6 9
1898	459	3 3 4
1899	522	2 16 1
1900	944	2 15 4
1901	1,954	3 2 9
1902	2,598	3 1 1
1903	3,645	3 5 11
1904	5,248	3 13 5
1905	6,130	3 12 0
1906	7,108	3 9 1
1907	6,755	3 10 1
1908	8,358	2 13 10
1909	8,082	3 10 10
Total 16 yrs	£52,781	—

APPENDIX III.

Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employes.

Table B.

Showing Total Amount of Out-of-Work Benefit Payments each Year, and the Average Annual Amount per Member Out of Work.

Year Ended June 30th,	Total Amount of Out-of-Work Benefit Payments during the Year.	Average Annual Amount per Member Out of Work.
	£	£ s. d.
1896	53	6 12 6
1897	38	3 3 4
1898	144	2 16 6
1899	133	2 17 10
1900	146	2 13 1
1901	261	2 14 4
1902	321	2 12 7
1903	462	2 7 5
1904	734	2 9 7
1905	1,153	2 11 8
1906	1,323	3 3 7
1907	1,408	3 8 10
1908	1,553	2 15 0
1909	3,740	2 14 8
Total 14 yrs.	£11,469	—

APPENDIX III. TABLE C.

AMALGAMATED UNION OF CO-OPERATIVE EMPLOYES.

NUMBER OF CO-OPERATIVE SHOPWORKERS DRAWING UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT DURING EACH YEAR IN THE COUNTIES OF

Year Ended June 30th.	Durham, N'rth'b'rl'nd, Cleveland District of Yorkshire, and Cumberland.	Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire.	Derby, Staffs, Leicester, Notts, Warwick, Worcester, Lincs, Salop, Hereford, Northants, Hunts, and Cambridge.	Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent, Middlesex, Surrey, Herts, Oxon, Berks, Beds, Bucks. Sussex, Hants, Wilts, and Dorset.	South Wales and West of England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Totals, all Counties.
1896..	2	2	3	1	..	..	..	8
1897..	1	9	1	1	..	..	..	12
1898..	31	12	2	2	4	..	..	51
1899..	11	21	8	2	4	..	..	46
1900..	16	27	9	..	3	..	..	55
1901..	25	36	25	6	4	..	..	96
1902..	50	37	21	3	11	..	..	122
1903..	95	55	31	5	9	..	..	195
1904..	152	74	43	22	4	..	1	296
1905..	212	124	53	37	13	..	7	446
1906..	167	119	34	74	18	..	4	416
1907..	125	112	43	87	33	2	7	409
1908..	228	171	52	78	21	9	5	564
1909..	468	415	92	156	55	172	10	1368

APPENDIX IV.

Radius Agreement.

(Copy).

On the determination arising of this engagement and the service thereunder the Manager hereby undertakes and agrees with the said Company that he will not for the period of two years thereafter without the previous permission in writing of the Company's Board of Directors carry on or be engaged or concerned in any business in any way similar to or in competition with the business as carried on by the Company either on his own account in partnership or as manager agent or assistant for any other person firm or Company or in any capacity whatsoever within a radius of two miles from any shop branch business of the Company at which he may have been employed at any time during the last two years of his service with the Company or solicit any of the customers of the Company to deal otherwise than with the Company so far as concerns goods supplied by the Company in the course of their business.

APPENDIX V.

Clause of a Bill of 1909 to Make Radius Agreements Null and Void.

(Copy).

Any agreement whereby a person employed in a shop shall be restrained after the termination of such employment from being engaged as servant, assistant, manager, or traveller, wholesale or retail, in any trade or business, either directly or indirectly, shall be null and void in so far as the same imposes or purports to impose, such restraint and not otherwise.

INDEX.

INDEX.

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